For John Carter Brown Esqr.
with the best respects
of George Livermore

June 1850

Francis Freeling.

John Carter Brown.

New England seems to have been
at this period one of the greatest
Theatres for the performance of
Witchcraft & also for its punishment

It appears that the Government
of the Province found it necessary
to interfere to counteract this whole
"Plot of the Devil against New England"

The Ms. note above I suppose
to be in the hand writing of
Sir Francis Freeling to whom
this copy formerly belonged —

G. L.

Collated & Perfect.

54:13
copy 1

THE

TRYALS

OF

Several Witches,

Lately Executed in

NEW-ENGLAND:

Publiſhed by the Special Command of the

GOVERNOUR.

Imprimatur.

Decemb. 23. 1692. EDMUND BOHUN.

The Wonders of the Invisible World:

Being an Account of the

TRYALS

OF

Several Witches

Lately Executed in

NEW-ENGLAND:

And of several Remarkable Curiosities therein Occurring.

By *COTTON MATHER.*

Published by the Special Command of his EXCELLENCY the Governour of the Province of the *Massachusetts Bay* in *New-England.*

The Second Edition.

Printed first, at *Boston* in *New-England*, and reprinted at *London*, for *John Dunton*, at the *Raven* in the *Poultrey*. 1693.

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BPUCB

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JOHN CARTER BROWN

THE Author's Defence

'TIS, as I remember, the Learned *Scribonius*, who reports, That one of his Acquaintaince, devoutly making his Prayers on the behalf of a Perſon moleſted by *Evil Spirits*, received from thoſe *Evil Spirits* an horrible blow over the Face: And I may my ſelf expect not few or ſmall buffetings from Evil Spirits, for the Endeavours wherewith I am now going to Encounter them. I am far from inſenſible, that at this extraordinary Time of the *Devils coming down in great wrath upon us*, there are too many Tongues and Hearts thereby *ſet on fire of Hell*; that the various Opinions about the Witchcrafts which of late time have troubled us, are maintained by ſome with ſo much cloudy Fury, as if they could never be ſufficiently ſtated, unleſs written in the Liquor wherewith Witches uſe to write their Covenants; and that he who becomes an Author at ſuch a time, had need be *Fenced with Iron, and the Staff of a Spear*. The unaccountable Forwardneſs, Aſperity, Untreatableneſs, and Inconſiſtency of many Perſons, every Day gives a viſible Expoſition of that paſſage, *An evil ſpirit from the Lord came upon Saul*; and Illuſtration of that Story, *There met him two poſſeſſed with Devils, exceeding fierce, ſo that no man might paſs by that way.* To ſend abroad a Book, among ſuch Readers, were a very unadviſed thing, if a Man had not ſuch Reaſons to give, as I can bring, for ſuch an Undertaking. Briefly, I hope it cannot be ſaid, *They are all ſo*: No, I hope the Body of this People, are yet in ſuch a Temper, as to be capable of applying their Thoughts, to make a *Right Uſe* of the ſtupendious and prodigious Things that are happening among us; And becauſe I was concern'd, when I ſaw that no abler Hand emitted any Eſſays to engage the Minds of this People, in ſuch holy, pious, fruitful Improvements, as God would have to be made of his amazing Diſpenſations now upon us. THEREFORE it is, that One of the Leaſt among the Children of *New England*, has here done, what is done. None, but *the Father, who ſees in ſecret*, knows the Heart-breaking Exerciſes, wherewith I

have composed what is now going to be exposed, lest I should in any one thing miss of doing my designed Service for his Glory, and for his People; but I am now somewhat comfortably assured of his favourable acceptance; and, *I will not fear; what can a Satan do unto me.*

Having performed something of what God required, in labouring to suit his Words unto his Works, at this Day among us, and therewithal handled a Theme that has been sometimes counted not unworthy the Pen, even of a King, it will easily be perceived, that some subordinate Ends have been considered in these Endeavours.

I have indeed set my self to countermine the whole PLOT of the Devil, against *New-England*, in every Branch of it, as far as one of my *darkness*, can comprehend such a *Work of darkness*. I may add, that I have herein also aimed at the Information and Satisfaction of Good Men in another County, a thousand Leagues off, where I have, it may be, more, or however, more considerable Friends, than in my own: And I do what I can to have that Country, now, as well as always, in the best Terms with my own. But while I am doing these things, I have been driven a little to do something likewise for my self; I mean, by taking off the false Reports, and hard Censures about my Opinion in these Matters, the *Parter's Portions* which my *pursuit of Peace* has procured me among the *Keen*. My hitherto *unvaried Thoughts* are here published; and I believe, they will be owned by most of the Ministers of God in these Colonies; nor can amends be well made me, for the wrong done me, by other sorts of *Representations*.

In fine: For the Dogmatical part of my Discourse, I want no Defence; for the Historical part of it, I have a very Great One; the Lieutenant-Governour of *New-England* having perused it, has done me the Honour of giving me a Shield, under the Umbrage whereof I now dare to walk abroad.

Reverend

Reverend and Dear SIR,

YOU *very much gratify'd me as, well as put a kind Respect upon me, when you put into my hands, your elaborate and most seasonable Discourse, entituled,* The Wonders of the Invisible World. *And having now perused so fruitful and happy a Composure, upon such a Subject, at this Juncture of Time; and considering the place that I hold in the Court of* Oyer *and* Terminer, *still labouring and proceeding in the Trial of the Persons accused and convicted for Witchcraft, I find that I am more nearly and highly concerned than as a meer ordinary Reader, to express my Obligation and Thankfulness to you for so great Pains; and cannot but hold my self many ways bound, even to the utmost of what is proper for me, in my present publick Capacity, to declare my* singular Approbation *thereof. Such is your Design, most plainly expressed throughout the whole; such your Zeal for God, your Enmity to Satan and his Kingdom. your Faithfulness and Compassion to this poor People; such the Vigour, but yet great Temper of your Spirit; such your Instruction and Counsel, your* Care of Truth, *your Wisdom and Dexterity in allaying and moderating that among us, which needs it; such your clear discerning of Divine Providences and Periods, now running on apace towrads their Glorious Issues in the World; and finally, such your good News of* The Shortness of the Devils Time, *that all Good Men must needs desire, the making of this your Discourse publick to the World; and will greatly rejoyce, that the* Spirit of the Lord *has thus enabled you to* lift up a standard *against the Infernal Enemy, that hath been* coming in like a Flood upon us. *I do therefore make it my particular and earnest Request unto you, that as soon as may be, you will commit the same unto the* Press *accordingly. I am,*

Your assured Friend,

WILLIAM STOUGHTON.

If

I Live by *Neighbours* that force me to produce these undeserved Lines. But now, as when Mr. *Wilson* beholding a great Muster of Soldiers, bad it by a Gentleman then present, said unto him, *Sir, I'll tell you a great thing: Here is a mighty Body of people; and there is not* Seven *of them all, but what loves Mr.* Wilson. That gracious Man presently and pleasantly reply'd; *Sir, I'll tell you as good a thing as that; here is a mighty Body of People, and there is not so much as* One *among them all, but Mr.* Wilson *loves him.* Somewhat so: 'Tis possible, that among this Body of People, there may be few that love the Writer of this Book; but give me leave to boast so far, there is not one among all this Body of People, whom this *Mather* would not study to serve, as well as to love. With such a *Spirit of Love*, is the Book now before us written: I appeal to all *this World*; and if *this* World will deny me the Right of acknowledging so much. I appeal to the *other*, that it is *not written with an Evil Spirit:* for which cause, I shall not wonder, if *Evil Spirits* be exasperated by what is written, as the *Sadducees* doubtless were with what was discoursed in the Days of our Saviour. I only demand the *Justice*, that others read it, with the same Spirit wherewith I writ it.

ENCHANT,

ENCHANTMENTS ENCOUNTER'D.

§ I. IT was as long ago, as the Year 1637, that a Faithful Minister of the Church of *England*, whose Name was Mr. *Edward Symons*, did in a Sermon, afterwards Printed, thus express himself; "At "*New-England* now the Sun of Comfort begins to ap- "pear, and the glorious Day-Star to show it self; —— "*Sed Venient Annis Sæculæ Seris*, there will come Times "in after-Ages, when the *Clouds will over-shadow and dar-* "*ken the Skey there.* Many now promise to themselves "nothing but successive Happiness there, which for a "time through God's Mercy they may enjoy; and I pray "God, they may a long time; but in this World there "is no Happiness perpetual. An *Observation*, or I had al- most said, an *Inspiration*, very dismally now verify'd upon us! It has been affirm'd by some who best knew *New-England*, That the World will do *New England* a great piece of Injustice, if it acknowledge not a measure of Religion, Loyalty, Honesty and Industry, in the People there, beyond what is to be found with any other People for the Number of them. When I did a few years ago, Publish a Book, which mentioned a few memorable Witchcrafts, committed in this Country; the excellent *Baxter*, graced the Second Edition of that Book, with a kind Preface, wherein he sees cause to say, *If any are Scandalized, that* New-England, *a place of as serious Piety, as any I can hear of, under Heaven, should be troubled so much with Witches; I think, 'tis no wonder: Where will the Devil show most Malice, but where he is hated, and hateth*

most: And I hope, the Country will ſtill deſerve and anſwer the Charity ſo expreſſed by that Reverend Man of God. Whoſoever travels over this Wilderneſs, will ſee it richly beſpangled with Evangelical Churches, whoſe Paſtors are holy, able, and painful Overſeers of their Flocks, lively Preachers, and vertuous Livers; and ſuch as in their ſeveral Neighbourly Aſſociations, have had their Meetings whereat Eccleſiaſtical Matters of common Concernment are conſidered: *Churches*, whoſe Communicants have been ſeriouſly examined about their Experiences of Regeneration, as well as about their Knowledge, and Belief, and blameleſs Converſation, before their admiſſion to the Sacred Communion; although others of leſs but hopeful Attainments in Chriſtianity are not ordinarily deny'd *Baptiſm* for themſelves and theirs; Churches, which are ſhye of uſing any thing in the Worſhip of God, for which they cannot ſee a Warrant of God; but with whom yet the Names of *Congregational Presbyterian*, *Epiſcopalian*, or *Antipædobaptiſt*, are ſwallowed up in that of *Chriſtian*; Perſons of all thoſe Perſwaſions being taken into our Fellowſhip, when viſible Godlineſs has recommended them: Churches, which uſually do within themſelves manage their own Diſcipline under the Conduct of their Elders; but yet call in the help of *Synods* upon Emergencies, or Aggrievances: *Churches*, Laſtly, wherein Multitudes are growing ripe for Heaven every day; and as faſt as theſe are taken off, others are daily riſing up. And by the Preſence and Power of the Divine Inſtitutions thus maintained in the Country. We are ſtill ſo happy, that I ſuppoſe there is no Land in the Univerſe more free from the debauching, and the debaſing Vices of Ungodlineſs. The *Body* of the People are hitherto ſo diſpoſed, that *Swearing*, *Sabbath-breaking*, *Whoring*, *Drunkenneſs*, and the like, do not make a Gentleman, but a Monſter, or a Goblin, in the vulgar Eſtimation. All this notwithſtanding, we muſt humbly confeſs to our God, that we are miſerably degenerated from the firſt Love of our Predeceſſors; however we boaſt our ſelves a little, when Men would go to trample upon us, and we venture to ſay, *Wherein ſoever any is bold* (*we ſpeak fooliſhly*) *we are bold alſo.* The firſt Planters of theſe Colo-

Colonies were a choſen Generation of Men, who were firſt ſo pure, as to diſreliſh many things which they thought wanted Reformation elſwhere; and yet withal ſo peaceable, that they embraced a voluntary Exile in a ſqualid, horrid, *American* Deſart, rather than to live in Contentions with their Brethren. Thoſe good Men imagined that they ſhould leave their Poſterity in a place, where they ſhould never ſee the Inroads of Profanity, or ſuperſtition: And a famous Perſon returning hence, could in a Sermon before the Parliament, profeſs, *I have now been ſeven Years in a Countrey, where I never ſaw one Man drunk, or heard one Oath ſworen, or beheld one Beggar in the Streets all the while.* Such great Perſons as *Budæus*, and others, who miſtook Sir *Thomas Moor's* UTOPIA; for a Country really exiſtent, and ſtirr'd up ſome Divines charitably to undertake a Voyage thither, might now have certainly found a Truth in their Miſtake; *New-England* was a true *Utopia*. But, alas, the Children and Servants of thoſe old Planters muſt needs afford many, degenerate Plants, and there is now riſen up a Number, of People, otherwiſe inclined than our *Joſhua's*, and the Elders that out-liv'd them. Thoſe two things our holy Progenitors, and our happy Advantages make Omiſſions of Duty, and ſuch Spiritual Diſorders as the whole World abroad is overwhelmed with, to be as provoking in us, as the moſt flagitious Wickedneſſes committed in other places; and the Miniſters of God are accordingly ſevere in their Teſtimonies: But, in ſhort, thoſe Intereſts of the Goſpel, which were the Errand of our Fathers into theſe Ends of the Earth, have been too much neglected and poſtponed, and the Attainments of an handſome Education, have been too much undervalued, by Multitudes that have not fallen into Exorbitances of wickedneſs; and ſome, eſpecially of our young Ones, when they have got abroad from under the Reſtraints here laid upon them, have become extravagantly and abominably Vicious. Hence 'tis, that the Happineſs of *New England* has been but for a time, as it was foretold, and not for a long time, as has been deſir'd for us. A Variety of Calamity has long follow'd this Plantation; and we have all the Reaſon imaginable to aſcribe it unto the Rebuke of Heaven upon us for our

mani old

manifold *Apostasies*; we make no right use of our Disasters If we do not, *Remember whence we are fallen, and repent, and do the first Works.* But yet our Afflictions may come under a further Consideration with us: There is a further Cause of our Afflictions, whose due must be given him

§ II. The *New Englanders* are a People of God settled in those, which were once the *Devils* Territories; and it may easily be supposed that the *Devil* was exceedingly disturbed, when he perceived such a People here accomplishing the Promise of old made unto our Blessed Jesus, *That He should have the Utmost parts of the Earth for his Possession.* There was not a greater Uproar among the *Ephesians*, when the Gospel was first brought among them, than there was among *The powers of the Air* (after whome those *Ephesians* walked) when first the *Silver Trumpets* of the Gospel here made the *Joyful Sound.* The Devil thus Irritated, immediately try'd all sorts of Methods to overturn this poor Plantation: and so much of the Church, as was *Fled into this Wilderaess*, immediately found, *The Serpent cast out of his Mouth a Flood for the carrying of it away.* I believe, that never were more *Satanical Devices* used for the Unsetling of any People under the Sun, than what have been Employ'd for the Extirpation of the *Vine* which God has here *Planted, Casting out the Heathen, and preparing a Room before it, and causing it to take deep Root, and fill the Land, so that it sent its Boughs into the* Atlantic *Sea* Eastward, *and its Branches unto the* Connecticut *River* westward, *and the Hills were covered with the shadow thereof.* But, All those Attempts of Hell, have hitherto been Abortive, many an *Ebenezer* has been Erected unto the Praise of God, by His Poor People here; and *Haveing obtained Help from God, we continue to this Day.* Wherefore the Devil is now making one Atempt more upon us; an Attempt more Difficult, more Surprizing, more snarl'd with unintelligible Circumstances than any that we have hitherto Encountred; an Attempt so *Critical*, that if we get well through, we shall soon Enjoy *Balcyon* Days, with all the *Vultures* of Hell *Trodden under our Feet.* He has wanted his *Incarnate Legions* to Persecute us, as the People of God have in the other Hemisphere been persecuted: he has

therefore

therefore drawn forth his more *Spiritual* ones to make an Attacque upon us. We have been advised by some Credible Christians yet alive, that a Malefactor, accused of *Witchcraft* as well as *Murder*, and Executed in this place more than Forty Years ago, did then give Notice of, *An Horrible* PLOT *against the Country by* WITCHCRAFT, *and a Foundation of* WITCHCRAFT *then laid, which if it were not seasonably discovered, would probably Blow up, and pull down all the Churches in the Country.* And we have now with Horror seen the *Discovery* of such a *Witchcraft*! An Army of *Devils* is horribly broke in upon the place which is the *Center*, and after a sort, the *First-born* of our *English* Settlements: and the Houses of the Good People there are filled with the doleful Shrieks of their Children and Servants, Tormented by Invisible Hands, with Tortures altogether preternatural. After the Mischiefs there Endeavoured, and since in part Conquered, the terrible Plague, of *Evil Angels*, hath made its Progress into some other places, where other Persons have been in like manner Diabolically handled. These our poor Afflicted Neighbours, quickly after they become *Infected* and *Infested* with these *Dæmons*, arrive to a Capacity of Discerning those which they conceive the *Shapes* of their Troubles; and notwithstanding the Great and Just Suspicion, that the *Dæmons* might Impose the *Shapes* of Innocent Persons in their *Spectral Exhibitions* upon the Sufferers, (which may perhaps prove no small part of the *Witch-Plot* in the issue) yet many of the Persons thus Represented, being Examined, several of them have been Convicted of a very Damnable *Witchcraft*: yea, more than One *Twenty* have *Confessed*, that they have Signed unto a *Book*, which the Devil show'd them, and Engaged in his Heilish Design of *Bewitching*, and *Ruining* our Land. *We* know not, at least I know not, how far the Delusions of Satan may be Interwoven into some Circumstances of the Confessions; but one would think all the Rules of Understanding Humane Affairs are at an end, If after so many most Voluntary Harmonious Confessions, made by Intelligent Persons of all Ages in sundry Towns, at several Times, we must not Believe the main strokes wherein those Confessions all agree: Especially when we have a Thousand preternatural Things every day be-

before our Eyes, wherein the Confessors do acknowledg their Concernment, and give Demonstration of their being so Concerned. If the Devils now can strike the Minds of Men with any Poysons of so fine a Composition and Operation, that scores of Innocent People shall Unite, in Confessions of a Crime, which we see actually Committed, it is a thing prodigious, beyond the Wonders of the former Ages, and it threatens no less than a sort of a Dissolution upon the World. Now, by these Confessions 'tis Agreed, That the Devil has made a dreadful Knot of Witches in the Country, and by the help of Witches has dreadfully increased that Knot: That these Witches have driven a Trade of Commissioning their Confederate Spirits, to do all sorts of Mischiefs to the Neighbours, whereupon there have ensued such Mischievous Consequences upon the Bodies and Estates of the Neighbourhood, as could not otherwise be accounted for: Yea, That at prodigious Witch-Meetings, the Wretches have proceeded so far, as to Concert and Consult the Methods of Rooting out the Christian Religion from this Country, and setting up instead of it, perhaps a more gross Diabolesm, that ever the World saw before. And yet it will be a thing little short of Miracle, if in so spread a business as this, the Devil should not get in some of his Judges, to confound the Discovery of all the rest.

§. III. Doubtless, the Thoughts of many will receive a great Scandal against *New England*, from the Number of Persons that have been Accused, or Suspected, for *Witchcraft*, in this Country: But it were easie to offer many things, that may Answer and Abate the Scandal. If the holy Ghost should any where permit the Devils to hook two or three wicked *Scholars* into *Witchcraft*, and then by their Assistance to Range with their *Poysonous Insinuations* among Ignorant, Envious, Discontented People, till they have cunningly decoy'd them into some sudden *Act*, whereby the Toyls of Hell shall be perhaps inextricably cast over them: what Country in the World would not afford *Witches*, numerous to a Prodigy? Accordingly, The Kingdoms of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Scotland*, yea, and *England* it self, as well as the Province

of

of *New-England*, have had their Storms of *Witchcrafts* breaking upon them, which have made most Lamentable Devastations: which also I wish, may be *The Last*. And it is not uneasie to be imagined, That God has not brought out all the *Witchcrafts* in many other Lands with such a speedy, dreadful, destroying *Jealousie*, as burns forth upon such *High Treasons*, committed here in *A land of uprightness*: Transgressors may more quickly here than else where become a Prey to the Vengeance of him, *Who has Eyes like a Flame of Fire*, and, *who walks in the midst of the Golden Candlesticks*. Moreover, There are many parts of the World, who if they do upon this Occasion insult over this People of God, need only to be told the Story of what happened at *Loim*, in the Dutchy of *Gulic*, where a Popish Curate having ineffectually try'd many Charms to Eject the Devil out of a Damsel there possessed, he passionately bid the Devil come out of her into himself; but the Devil answered him, *Quid mihi Opus, est eum centare, quem Novissimo die, Jure Optimo sum possessurus?* That is, *What need I meddle with one whom I am sure to have, and hold at the Last-day as my own for ever.*

An Hortatory and Necessary Address, *To a Country now Extraordinarily Alarum'd by the* Wrath *of the* Devil. *'Tis this.*

LEt us now make a good and right use of the prodigious *Descent* which the *Devil* in *Great Wrath* is at this day making upon our Land. Upon the Death of a Great Man once, an Orator call'd the Town together, crying out, *Concurrite Cives, Dilapsa sunt vestra Mœnia!* that is, *Come together, Neighbours, your Town-Walls are fallen down!* But such is the Descent of the Devil at this day upon our selves, that I may truly tell you, *The Walls of the whole World are broken down!* The usual *Walls* of Defence about Mankind have such a Gap made in them, that the very *Devils* are broke in upon us, to seduce the *Souls*, torment the *Bodies*, sully the *Credits*, and consume the *Estates* of our Neighbours, with Impressions both as *real* and as *furious*, as if the *Invisible* World were becoming *Incarnate*, on purpose for the vexing of us. And what use ought now to be made of so tremendous a Dispensation? We are engaged in a *Fast* this day; but shall we try to fetch *Meat out of the Eater*, and make the *Lion* to afford some *Honey* for our *Souls?*

That the Devil is *come down unto us with great Wrath*, we find, we feel, we now deplore. In many ways, for many years hath the Devil been assaying to extirpate the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus here. *New England* may complain of the Devil, as in *Psal.* 129, 1, 2, *Many a time have they afflicted me, from my Youth, may* New England *now say; many a time have they afflicted me from my Youth, yet they have not prevailed against me.* But now there is a more than ordinary *Affliction*, with which the *Devil* is Galling of us; and such an one as is indeed Unparallelable. The things confessed by *Witches*, and the things endured by *Others*, laid together, amount unto this account of our Affliction. The *Devil*, exhibiting himself ordinarily as a small *Black Man*, has decoy'd a fearful knot of proud, froward, ignorant, envious and malicious Creatures, to list themselves in his horrid Service, by entring their Names in a Book by him tendred unto them. These *Witches*, whereof above a Score have now *Confessed, and shown their Deeds*, and some are now tormented by the Devils for *Confessing*, have met in Hellish *Randezvouzes*, wherein the Confessors do say, they have had their Diabolical Sacraments, imitating the *Baptism* and the *Supper* of our Lord. In these hellish Meetings, these Monsters have associated themselves to do no less a thing than *to destroy the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ in these parts of the World*; and in order hereunto, First, they each of them have their *Spectres* or Devils, commission'd by them, and representing of them, to be the Engines of their Malice. By these wicked *Spectres* they seize poor People about the

Country, with various and bloudy *Torments*; and of those evidently preternatural Torments there are some have dy'd. They have bewitched some, even so far as to make *Self-destroyers*: And others are in many Towns here and there languishing under their *Evil hands*. The People thus afflicted, are miserably scratched and bitten, so that the Marks are most visible to all the World, but the Causes utterly invisible: And the same invisible Furies do most visibly stick Pins into the Bodies of the Afflicted, and *scale* them, and hideously distort and disjoint all their Members, besides a thousand other sorts of Plagues beyond these, of any natural Diseases which they give unto them. Yea, they sometimes drag the poor People out of their Chambers, and carry them over Trees and Hills for divers Miles together. A large part of the Persons tortured by these Diabolical *Spectres*, are horribly tempted by them, sometimes with fair Promises, and sometimes with hard Threatnings, but always with felt Miseries to sign the *Devils Laws* in a Spectral Book laid before them; which two or three of these poor Sufferers, being by their tiresome Sufferings overcome to do, they have immediately been released from all their Miseries, and they appeared in *Spectre* then to torture those that were before their Fellow-Sufferers. The *Witches*, which by their Covenant with the Devil, are become Owners of *Spectres*, are often-times by their own *Spectres* required and compelled to give their Consent, for the molestation of some, which they had no mind otherwise to fall upon; and cruel Depredations are then made upon the Vicinage. In the Prosecution of these Witchcrafts, among a thousand other unaccountable things, the *Spectres* have an odd faculty of cloathing the most substantial and corporeal Instruments of Torture with Invisibility, while the Wounds thereby given have been the most palpable things in the World; so that the Sufferers assaulted with Instruments of Iron, wholly unseen to the Standers-by, though, to their Cost, seen by themselves, have, upon snatching, wrested the Instruments out of the *Spectres* hands, and every one has then immediately not only *beheld*, but *handled* an Iron Instrument taken by a Devil from a Neighbour. These wicked *Spectres* have proceeded so far, as to steal several quantities of Mony from divers People, part of which Mony has, before sufficient Spectators, been dropt out of the Air into the hands of the Sufferers, while the *Spectres* have been urging them to subscribe their *Covenant with Death*. In such extravagant ways have these Wretches propounded the *Dragooning* of as many as they can in their own Combination, and the *Destroying* of others, with lingring, spreading, deadly Diseases, till our Country should at last become to hot for us. Among the Ghastly Instances of the *Success* which those Bloody Witches have had, we have seen even some of their own Children so dedicated unto the Devil, that in their Infancy it is

found

found the *Imps* have sucked them, and rendred them venemous to a Prodegy. We have also seen the Devils first Batteries upon the Town, where the first Church of our Lord in this Colony was gathered, producing those distractions, which have almost ruin'd the Town. We have seen likewise the Plague reaching afterwards into other Towns far and near, where the Houses of good Men have the Devils filling of them with terrible Vexations!

This is the Descent, which it seems, the Devil has now made upon us. But that which makes this Descent the more formidable, is, The *multitude* and *quality* of Persons accused of an Interest in this *Witchcraft*, by the Efficacy of the *Spectres* which take their Name and Shape upon them; causing very many good and wise Men to fear, That many *innocent*, yea, and some *vertuous* Persons, are by the Devils in this matter imposed upon; That the Devils have obtain'd the power, to take on them the likeness of harmless people, and in that likeness to afflict other people, and be so abused by Prestigious *Dæmons*, that upon their look or touch the afflicted shall be odly affected. Arguments from the *Providence of God*, on the one side, and from our *Charity* towards *Man* on the other side, have made this now to become a most agitated Controversie among us. There is an *Agony* produced in the minds of Men, lest the Devil should sham us with *Devices*, of perhaps a finer Thred, than was ever yet practised upon the World. The whole business is become hereupon so *snarled*, and the determination of the Question one way or another, so *dismal*, that our Honourable Judges have a room for *Jehoshaphat*'s Exclamation, *We know not what to do!* They have used, as Judges have heretofore done, the *Spectral Evidences*, to introduce their further Enquiries into the *Lives* of the persons accused; and they have thereupon, by the wonderful Providence of God, been so strengthened with *other Evidences*, that some of the *Witch Gang* have been fairly executed. But what shall be done, as to those against whom the *Evidence* is chiefly founded in the *dark World?* Here they do solemnly demand our Addresses to the *Father of Lights* on their behalf. But in the mean time, the Devil improves the *Darkness* of this Affair, to push us into a *Blind Mans-Buffet*, and we are even ready to be *sinfully*, yea, hotly and madly, mauling one another in the dark.

The consequence of these things every *considerate man* trembles at, and the more, because the frequent Cheats of Passion and Rumour, do precipitate so many, that I wish I could say, The most were *considerate*.

But that which carries on the formidableness of our Trials, unto that which may be called, *A wrath unto the uttermost*, is this; It is not without the *wrath* of the Almighty *God* himself, that the *Devil* is permitted

mitted thus to come down upon us in *wrath*. It was said in *Isa.* 9. 19. *Through the wrath of the Lord of Hosts the Land is darkned.* Our Land is *darkned* indeed, since the *Powers of Darkness* are turned in upon us: 'Tis a dark time, yea, a black night indeed, now the *Ty dogs* of the Pit are abroad among us: but, *it is through the wrath of the Lord of Hosts!* Inasmuch as the *Firebrands* of *Hell* it self are used for the scorching of us with cause enough may we cry out, *What means the heat of this Anger?* Blessed Lord! Are all the other Instruments of thy Vengeance too good for the chastisment of such Transgressors as we are? Must the very *Devils* be sent out of *their own place*, to be our Troublers? Must we be lash'd with *Scorpions*, fetch'd from the *Place of Torment?* Must this *Wilderness* be made a Receptacle for the *Dragons of the Wilderness?* If a *Lapland* should nourish in it vast numbers, the Successors of the old *Biarmi*; who can with looks or words bewitch other people, or sell Winds to Mariners, and have their *Familiar Spirits* which they bequeath to their Children when they die, and by their enchanted Kettle-drums can learn things done a thousand Leagues off. If a *Swedeland* should afford a Village, where some Score of Haggs may not only have their Meetings with *Familiar Spirits*, but also by their Enchantments drag many scores of poor Children out of their Bed-chambers, to be spoiled at those Meetings; This, were not altogether a matter of so much wonder! But that *New-England* should this way be harassed! They are not *Chaldeans*, that *Bitter and Hasty Nation*, but they are *Bitter and Burning Devils*: They are not *Swarthy Indians*, but they are *Sooty Devils*; that are let loose upon us. Ah, poor *New-England!* must the Plague of *Old Egypt* come upon thee? Whereof we read in *Psal.* 78. 49. *He cast upon them the fierceness of his Anger, Wrath and Indignation, and Trouble, by sending Evil Angels among them.* What, O what must next be looked for? Must that which is there next mentioned, be next encountred? *He spared not their Soul from death, but gave their Life over to the Pestilence.* For my part, when I consider what *Melancton* says, in one of his Epistles, *That these Diabolical Spectacles are often Prodigies*; and when I consider, how often People have been by *Spectres* called upon, just before their Deaths, I am verily afraid, lest some wasting *Mortality* be among the things, which this Plague is the *Forerunner* of. I pray God prevent it!

But now, *What shall we do?*

1. Let the Devils *coming down* in *great wrath* upon us, cause us to *come down* in *great grief* before the Lord. We may truly and sadly say, *We are brought very low! Low* indeed, when the Serpents of the Dust are crawling and coyling about us, and insulting over us. May we not say, *We are in the very Belly of Hell*, when *Hell* it self is feeding upon us? But how *low* is that! O let us then most penitently lay our selves very *low* before

before the God of Heaven who has thus abased us. When a truculent *Nero*, a *Devil* of a Man, was turned in upon the World, it was said in 1 *Pet.* 5. 6. *Humble your selves under the mighty hand of God.* How much more now ought we to *humble our selves* under that *Mighty Hand* of that God, who indeed has the *Devil* in a *Chain*, but has horribly lengthened out the *Chain!* When the old People of God heard any *Blasphemies*, tearing of his ever-blessed Name to pieces, they were to *rend their Cloaths* at what they heard. I am sure that we have cause to *rend our Hearts* this day, when we see what an high Treason has been committed against the most High God, by the Witchcrafts in our Neighbourhood. We may say; and shall we not be *humbled* when we say it? *We have seen an horrible thing done in our Land!* O 'tis a most humbling thing to think, that ever there should be such an Abomination among us, as for a Crew of Humane Race to renounce their *Maker*, and to unite with the *Devil*, for the troubling of Mankind; and for People to be (as is by some confess'd) *Baptized* by a *Fiend* using this Form upon them, *Thou art mine, and I have a full power over thee!* afterwards communicating in an Hellish *Bread and Wine*, by that Fiend administred to them. It was said, in *Deut.* 18. 10, 11, 12. *There shall not be found among you an Inchanter, or a Witch, or a Charmer, or a Consulter with Familiar Spirits, or a Wizzard, or a Necromancer; For all that do these things are an Abomination to the Lord, and because of these Abominations, the Lord thy God doth drive them out before thee.* That *New-England* now should have these *Abominations* in it, yea, that some of no mean *Profession*, should be found guilty of them: Alas, what *Humiliations* are we all hereby obliged unto? O 'tis a defiled Land wherein we live; Let us be humbled for these *Defiling Abominations*, lest we be driven out of our Land. It's very *humbling* thing to think, what Reproaches will be cast upon us for this matter among *the Daughters of the Philistins.* Indeed, enough might easily be said for the Vindication of *this* Country from the *Singularity* of this matter, by ripping up what has been discovered in others. *Great Britain* alone, and this also in our days of *Greatest Light*, has had that in it, which may divert the Calumnies of an ill-natured World, from centring here. They are Words of the devout Bishop *Hall*, *Satans prevalency in this Age is most clear, in the marvellous number of Witches abounding in all places. Now hundreds are discovered in one Shire; and, if Fame deceives us not, in a Village of Fourteen Houses in the North, are found so many of this damned Brood; yea, and those of both Sexes, who have professed much Knowledge, Holiness and Devotion, are drawn into this damnable Practice.* I suppose the Doctor in the first of those Passages, may refer to what happened in the year 1645. when so many Vassals of the Devil were detected, that there was *Thirty* try'd at

at one time, whereas about *Fourteen* were hanged, and an hundred more detained in the Prisons of *Suffolk* and *Essex*. Among other things which many of these acknowledged, one was, That they were to undergo certain Punishments, if they did not such and such Hurts as were appointed them. And, amongst the rest that were then executed, there was an old Parson called *Lowis*, who confessed, That he had a couple of Imps, whereof one was always putting him upon the doing of Mischief. Once particularly, that *Imp* calling for his Consent so to do, went immediately and sunk a *Ship*, then under Sail. I pray, let not *New-England* become of an unsavoury and a sulphurous Resentment in the Opinion of the World abroad, for the doleful things which are now fallen out among us, while there are such Histories of other places abroad in the World. Nevertheless, I am sure that *we*, the People of *New-England*, have cause enough to *humble* our selves under our most *humbling* Circumstances. We must no more be *haughty, because of the Lord's holy Mountain among us.* No, it becomes us rather to be *humble, because we have been such an Habitation of unholy Devils.*

II. Since the Devil is *come down in great wrath* upon us, let not us in our *great wrath* against one another provide a *Lodging* for him. It was a most wholsom Caution, in *Eph.* 4. 26, 27. *Let not the Sun go down upon your wrath: Neither give place to the Devil.* The Devil is come down to see what *Quarter* he shall find among us: And if his coming down, do now fill us with *wrath* against one another; and if between the Cause of the Sufferers on one hand, and the Cause of the Suspected on the other, we carry things to such Extreams of *Passion* as are now gaining upon us, the Devil will bless himself to find such a convenient Lodging as we shall therein afford unto him. And it may be that the *wrath* which we have had against one another, has had more than a little Influence upon the coming down of the Devil in that *wrath* which now amazes us. Have not many of us been Devils one unto another for Slanderings, for Back-bitings, for Animosities? For this, among other Causes, perhaps, God has permitted the Devils to be worrying, as they now are, among us. But it is high time to leave off all *Devilism*, when the *Devil* himself is falling upon us: And it is *no time* for us to be censuring and reviling one another, with a *Diveliſh wrath*, when the *wrath* of the *Devil* is annoying us. The way for us to out-wit the Devil in the Wiles with which he now vexes us, would be for us to joyn as one Man in our Cries to God, for the directing and issuing of this Thorny Business; but if we do not *lift up* our Hands to Heaven *without wrath*, we cannot then do it *without doubt*, of speeding in

in it. I am ashamed when I read French Authors giving this Character of English-men, [*Ils se haissent Les uns les autres, & sont en Division continuelle.*] *They hate one another, and are always Quarrelling one with another.* And I shall be much more ashamed, if it become the Character of *New-Englanders*; which is indeed what the Devil would have. *Satan* would make us *bruise* one another, by breaking of the *Peace* among us: But O let us disappoint them. We read of a thing that sometimes happens to the *Devil*, when he is foaming with his *wrath*, in *Matth.* 12. 43. *The unclean Spirit seeks rest, and finds none.* But we give *rest* unto the Devil, by *wrath* one against another. If we would lay aside all fierceness and keenness, in the Disputes which the Devil has raised among us; and if we would use to one another none but the *soft Answers, which turn away wrath*; I should hope that we might light upon such Counsels, as would quickly extricate us out of our *Labyrinths*. But the old Incendiary of the World is come from Hell, with Sparks of Hell-Fire flashing on every side of him; and we make our selves Tynder to the Sparks. When the Emperor *Henry* III. kept the Feast of *Pentecost*, at the City of *Mentz*, there arose a Dissention among some of the People there, which came from Words to Blows, and at last it passed on to the shedding of Blood. After the Tumult was over, when they came to that Clause in their Devotions, *Thou hast made this day glorious.* The Devil, to the inexpressible Terrour of that vast Assembly, made the Temple ring with that Out-cry, *But I have made this day Quarrelsome!* We are truly come into a day, which by being well managed, might be very *Glorious*, for the exterminating of those *Accursed things*, which have hitherto been the Clogs of our Prosperity: But if we make this day quarrelsome, through any *Raging Confidences*, Alas, *O Lord, my Flesh trembles for fear of thee, and I am afraid of thy Judgments.* *Erasmus*, among other Historians, tells us, that at a Town in *Germany*, a Witch or Devil appeared on the top of a Chimney, threatning to set the Town on Fire: And at length, scattering a Pot of Ashes abroad, the Town was presently and horribly burnt unto the Ground. Methinks I see the Spectres from the top of the Chimneys to the Northward, threatning to scatter Fire about the Countrey; but let us quench that Fire by the most amicable Correspondencies; lest, as the *Spectres* have, they say, already most literally burnt some of our Dwellings, there do come forth a further *Fire* from the *Brambles* of Hell, which may more terribly *Devour* us. Let us not be like a *Troubled House*, although we are so much haunted by the *Devils.* Let our *long suffering* be a well-placed piece of *Armour* about us, against the *Fiery Darts* of the wicked ones. History informs us, That so long ago as the year 858. a certain Pestilent and

Malignant

Malignant ſort of a *Dæmon*, moleſted *Caumont* in *Germany*; with all ſorts of Methods to ſtir up Striſe among the Citizens. He uttered Prophecies, he detected Villanies, he branded People with all kind of Infamies. He incenſed the Neighbourhood againſt one Man prrticularly, as the cauſe of all the Miſchiefs; who yet proved himſelf innocent. He threw Stones at the Inhabitants, and at length burnt their Habitations, till the Commiſſion of the *Dæmon* could go no further. I ſay, let us be well aware leſt ſuch *Dæmons* do *come hither alſo*.

III. Inaſmuch as the Devil is come down in *great Wrath*, we had need labour with all the care and ſpeed we can, to divert the great *wrath* of Heaven from coming at the ſame time upon us. The God of Heaven has with long and loud Admonitions been calling us to a *Reformation of our provoking Evils*, as the only way to avoid that *wrath* of His, which does not only *threaten*, but *conſume* us. 'Tis becauſe we have been Deaf to thoſe *Calls* that we are now by a provoked God laid open to the *Wrath* of the Devil himſelf. It is ſaid in *Prov.* 16. 7. *When a mans ways pleaſe the Lord, he maketh even his Enemies to be at peace with him.* The Devil is our grand Enemy; and though we would not be at peace *with* him, yet we would be at peace from him, that is, we would have him unable to diſquiet our *Peace*. But inaſmuch as the *wrath* which we endure from this Enemy will allow us no *peace*, we may be ſure *our ways have not pleaſed the Lord*. It is becauſe we have *broken the Hedge* of God's *Precepts*, that the Hedge of God's *Providence* is not ſo entire as it uſes to be about us; but *Serpents* are *biting* of us. O let us then ſee our ſelves, to make our *Peace* with our God, whom we have *diſpleaſed* by our Iniquities: And let us not imagine that we can encounter the *Wrath* of the Devil, while there is the *Wrath* of God Almighty to ſet that Maſtiff upon us. REFORMATION, REFORMATION, has been the repeated Cry of all the Judgments that have been hitherto been upon us; becauſe we have been as *deaf Adders* thereunto; the *Adders* of the Infernal Pit are now hiſſing about us. At length, as it was of old ſaid, *Luke* 60. 13. *If one went unto them from the dead, they will repent*; even ſo, there are ſome come unto us from the *damned*. The Great God has looſed the Bars of the Pit, ſo that many *damned Spirits* are come in among us, to make us *repent* of our Miſdemeanours. The Means which the Lord had formerly employ'd for our *awakening* were ſuch, that he might well have ſaid, *What could I have done more?* And yet after all, he has done *more*, in ſome regards, than was ever done for the awakening of any People in the World. The things now done to awaken our

Enquiries

Enquiries after our *provoking Evils*, and our Endeavours to reform those Evils, are most extraordinary things; for which cause I would freely speak it, if we now do not some *extraordinary* things in speedily returning to God, we are the most incurable; and I wish it be not quickly said, the most *miserable* People under the Sun. Believe me, 'tis a time for all people to do something *extraordinary, in searching and trying of their ways, and in turning to the Lord.* It is an extraordinary rate of *Circumspection* and *Spiritual mindedness*, that we should all now maintain a *walk with God.* At such a time as this, ought not Magistrates to do something extraordinary in promoting of what is laudable, and in restraining and chastising of *Evil doers.* At such a time as this, ought not *Ministers* to do something extraordinary in pulling the Souls of Men out of the Snares of the Devil, not only by publick *Preaching*, but by personal Visits and Counsels, *from house to house.* At such a time as this ought Churches to do something extraordinary, in renewing of their Covenants, and in remembring and reviving the Obligations of what they have renewed. Some admirable Designs about the Reformation of Manners, have lately been on foot in the *English Nation*, in pursuance of the most excellent Admonitions which have been given for it, by the Letters of their Majesties. Besides the vigourous agreements of the *Justices* here and there in the Kingdom, assisted by godly Gentlemen and Informers, to execute the Laws upon prophane Offenders; there has been started a Proposal for the well affected people in every Parish, to enter into orderly *Societies*, whereof every Member shall bind himself, not only to avoid prophaneness in himself, but also according unto their place, to do their utmost in first Reproving; and if it must be so, then Exposing, and so Punishing, as the Law directs, for others that shall be guilty. It has been observed, that the English Nation has had some of its great Successes, upon some special and signal Actions this way; and a discouragement given unto Legal proceedings of this kind, must needs be very exercising to the *Wise that observe these things.* But O why should not *New England* be the most forward part of the *English Nation* in such Reformation? Methink I hear the Lord from Heaven saying over us, *O that my people had harkned unto me, then I should soon have subdued the Devils, as well as their other Enemies!* There have been some feeble Essays towards Reformation of late in our Churches; but I pray what comes of them? Do we stay till the storm of his wrath be over? Nay let us be doing what we can, as fast as we can to divert the storm. The Devils having broke in upon our World, there is great asking, *Who is it that has brought them in?* And many do by *Spectral Exhibitions* come to be cryed out upon. I hope in Gods time it will be found, that among those that are thus cryed out upon, there are persons yet *Clear from the great Transgression*; but indeed, all the Unre-

formed among us, may justly be cryed out upon, as having too much of an hand in letting of the Devils into our Borders; 'tis our worldliness, our Formality, our Sensuality, and our Iniquity, that has helped this letting of the Devils in. O let us then at last, *consider our ways.* 'Tis a strange passage recorded by Mr. *Clark*, in the Life of his Father, That the people of his Parish refusing to be Reclaimed from their *Sabbath breaking*, by all the zealous Testimonies which that good Man bore against it; at last, on a night after the people had retired home from a Revelling prophanation of the Lords day, there was heard a great Noise, with rattling of Chains up and down the Town, and an horrid Scent of Brimstone fill'd the Neighbourhood. Upon which the *guilty Consciences* of the Wretches told them, the Devil was come to fetch them away; and it so terrified them, that an eminent Reformation followed the Sermons which that man of God preached thereupon. Behold Sinners, behold and wonder, lest you perish; the very Devils are walking about our streets, with lengthened Chains, making a dreadful noise in our ears, and *Brimstone* even without a Metaphor, is making an hellish and horrid stench in our Nostrils. I pray leave off all those things whereof your guilty Consciences may now accuse you, lest the Devils do yet more direfully fall upon you. Reformation is at this time our only preservation.

HAving thus discoursed on *Wonders of the Invisible World*, I shall now with Gods help, go on to relate some Remarkable and Memorable Instances of Wonders which that World has given to ourselves. And altho the chief Entertainment which my Readers do expect, and shall receive, will be a true History of what has occurred, respecting the **Witchcrafts** wherewith we are at this day persecuted; yet I shall choose to usher in the mention of those things, with

A Narrative of an APPARITION *which a Gentleman in* Boston, *had of his Brother, just then Murthered in* London.

IT was on the Second of *May* in the Year 1687, that a most ingenious accomplished and well disposed Gentleman, Mr. *Joseph Beacon*, by Name, about five a Clock in the Morning, as he lay, whether Sleeping or Waking he could not say, (but judged the latter of them) had a View of his Brother then at *London*, altho he was now himself at our *Boston*, distanced from him a thousand Leagues. This his Brother appear'd unto him in the Morning about five a Clock at *Boston*, having on him a Bengal Gown, which he usually wore, with a Napkin tyed about his Head; his Countenance

nance was very Pale, Gastly, Deadly, and he had a Bloody Wound on one side of his Forehead. *Brother!* says the affrighted *Joseph.* Brother, answered the Apparition. Said *Joseph, What's the matter Brother? How came you here?* The Apparition replied, *Brother, I have been most barbarously and injuriously Butchered, by a Debauched drunken Fellow, to whom I never did any wrong in my Life.* Whereupon he gave a particular Description of the Murderer; adding, *Brother, This Fellow changing his Name is attempting to come over unto* New-England, *in* Foy *or* Wild: *I would pray you on the first Arrival of either of these, to get an Order from the Governour, to Seize the Person whom I have now described; and then do you Indict him for the Murder of me your Brother: I'll stand by you and prove the Indictment.* And so he vanished. Mr. *Beacon* was extreamly astonished at what he had seen and heard; and the people of the Family not only observed an extraordinary Alteration upon him, for the week following, but have also given me under their hands a full Testimony, that he then gave them an Account of this Apparition.

All this while, Mr. *Beacon* had no advice of any thing amiss attending his Brother then in *England*; but about the latter end of *June* following, he understood by the common ways of Communication, that the *April* before, his Brother going in haste by Night to call a Coach for a Lady, met a Fellow then in Drink, with his Doxy in his Hand: Some way or other the Fellow thought himself Affronted with the hasty passage of this *Beacon*, and immediately ran into the Fireside of a Neighbouring Tavern, from whence he fetch'd out a Fire-fork, wherewith he grievously wounded *Beacon* in the Skull; even in that very part where the Apparition show'd his Wound. Of this Wound he Languished until he Dyed on the Second of *May*, about five of the Clock in the Morning at *London.* The Murderer it seems was endeavouring to Escape, as the Apparition affirmed, but the Friends of the Deceased *Beacon*, Seized him; and prosecuting him at Law, he found the help of such Friends as brought him off without the loss of his Life; since which there has no more been heard of the Business.

This History I received of Mr. *Joseph Beacon* himself, who a little before his own pious and hopeful Death, which follow'd not long after, gave me the Story written and signed with his own Hand, and attested with the Circumstances I have already mentioned.

BUT I ſhall no longer detain my Reader from his expected Entertainment, in a brief Account of the Tryals which have paſſed upon ſome of the Malefactors lately Executed at *Salem*, for the *Witchcrafts* whereof they ſtood Convicted. For my own part, I was not preſent at any of them; nor ever had I any Perſonal prejudice at the Perſons thus brought upon the Stage; much leſs at the ſurviving Relations of thoſe Perſons, with and for whom I would be as hearty a Mourner as any Man living in the World: *The Lord Comfort them!* But having received a particular Command ſo to do, I can do no other than ſhortly relate the chief *Matters of Fact*, which occur'd in the Tryals of ſome that were Executed, in an Abridgment Collected out of the *Court-Papers*, on this occaſion put into my hands. You are to take the *Truth*, juſt as it was; and the Truth will hurt no good Man. There might have been more of theſe, if my Book would not thereby have ſwollen too big; and if ſome other worthy hands did not perhaps intend ſomething further in theſe *Collections*; for which cauſe I have only ſingled out Four or Five, which may ſerve to illuſtrate the way of Dealing, wherein *Witchcrafts* uſe to be concerned; and I report matters not as an *Advocate*, but as an *Hiſtorian*.

They were ſome of the Gracious Words inſerted in the Advice, which many of the Neighbouring Miniſters did this Summer humbly lay before our Honourable Judges, *We cannot but with all thankfulneß, acknowledge the ſucceß which the Merciful God has given unto the Sedulous and Aſſiduous endeavours of our Honourable Rulers, to detect the abominable Witchcrafts which have been committed in the Country; humbly Praying, that the diſcovery of theſe myſterious and miſchievious wickedneſſes, may be perfected.* If in the midſt of the many Diſſatisfactions among us, the Publication of theſe Tryals, may promote ſuch a pious Thankfulneſs unto God, for Juſtice being ſo far executed among us, I ſhall Rejoyce that God is Glorified; and pray that no wrong ſteps of ours may ever ſully any of his Glorious Works. But we will begin with

A Modern Inſtance of Witches, Diſcovered and Condemned in a Tryal, before that Celebrated Judge, Sir Matthew Hale.

IT may caſt ſome Light upon the Dark things now in *America*, if we juſt give a glance upon the *like things* lately happening in *Europe*. We may ſee the *Witchcrafts* here moſt exactly

exactly resemble the *Witchcrafts* there; and we may learn what sort of Devils do trouble the World.

The Venerable *Baxter* very truly says, *Judge* Hale *was a Person, than whom, no man was more Backward to Condemn a Witch, without full Evidence.*

Now, one of the latest Printed Accounts about a *Tryal of Witches*, is of what was before him, and it ran on this wise. [Printed in the Year 1682.] And it is here the rather mentioned, because it was a Tryal, much considered by the Judges of *New England*.

I. *Rose Cullender* and *Amy Duny*, were severally Indicted, for Bewitching *Elizabeth Durent*, *Ann Durent*, *Jane Bocking*, *Susan Chandler*, *William Durent*, *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacy*, and the Evidence whereon they were Convicted, stood upon divers particular Circumstances.

II. *Ann Durent*, *Susan Chandler*, and *Elizabeth Pacy*, when they came into the Hall, to give Instructions for the drawing the Bills of Indictments, they fell into strange and violent Fits, so that they were unable to give in their Depositions, not only then, but also during the whole Assizes. *William Durent* being an Infant, his Mother Swore, That *Amy Duny* looking after her Child one Day in her absence, did at her return confess, that she had given suck to the Child: (tho' she were an Old Woman:) Whereat, when *Durent* expressed her displeasure, *Duny* went away with Discontents and Menaces.

The Night after, the Child fell into strange and sad Fits, wherein it continued for divers Weeks. One Dr. *Jacob* advised her to hang up the Childs Blanket in the Chimney Corner all Day, and at Night when she went to put the Child into it, if she found any thing in it, then to through it without fear into the Fire. Accordingly at Night, there fell a great Toad out of the Blanket, which ran up and down the Hearth. A Boy catch't it, and held it in the Fire with the Tongs, where it made an horrible Noise, and flash'd like to Gun-Powder, with a report like that of a Pistol: Whereupon the Toade was no more to be seen. The next Day a Kinswoman of *Duny*'s told the Deponent, that her Aunt was all grievously scorch'd with the Fire, and the Deponent going to her House, found her in such a Condition. *Duny* told her, she might thank her for it; but she should live to see some of her Children Dead, and her self upon Crutches. But after the Burning of the Toad, this Child recovered.

This

This Deponent further testified, That her Daughter *Elizabeth*, being about the Age of ten Years, was taken in like manner as her first Child was, and in her Fits complained much of *Amy Duny*, and said, that she did appear to her, and afflict her in such manner as the former. One day she found *Amy Duny* in her House, and thrusting her out of Doors, *Duny* said, *You need not be so angry, your Child won't live long.* And within three days the Child died. The Deponent added, that she herself, not long after taken with such a Lameness in both her Legs, that she was forced to go upon Crutches, and she was now in Court upon them. [It was Remarkable, that immediately upon the Juries bringing in *Duny* Guilty, *Durent* was restored unto the use of her Limbs, & went home without her Crutches.]

III. As for *Elizabeth* and *Deborah Pacy*, one Aged Eleven Years, the other Nine; the elder being in Court, was made utterly senseless, during all the time of the Trial: or at least speechless. By the direction of the Judge, *Duny* was privately brought to *Elizabeth Pacy*, and she touched her hand: whereupon the Child, without so much as seeing her, suddenly leap'd up and flew upon the Prisoner; the younger was too ill to be brought into the Assizes. But *Samuel Pacy*, their Father, testified, that his Daughter *Deborah* was taken with a sudden Lameness; and upon the grumbling of *Amy Duny*, for being denied something, where this Child was then sitting, the Child was taken with an extream pain in her stomach, like the pricking of Pins; and shrieking at a dreadful manner, like a Whelp, rather than a Rational Creature. The Physicians could not conjecture the cause of the Distemper; but *Amy Duny* being a Woman of ill Fame, and the Child in Fits crying out of *Amy Duny*, as affrighting her with the Apparition of her Person, the Deponent suspected her, and procured her to be set in the Stocks. While she was there, she said in the hearing of two Witnesses, Mr. Pacy *keeps a great stir about his Child, but let him stay till he has done as much by his Children as I have done by mine:* And being asked what she had done to her Children, she answered, *She had been fain to open her Childs Mouth with a Tap to give it Victuals.* The Deponent added, that within two days the Fits of his Daughters were such, that they could not preserve either Life or Breath, without the help of a Tap. And that the Children cry'd out of *Amy Duny*, and of *Rose Cullender*, as afflicting them with her Apparition.

IV. The

IV. The Fits of the Children were various. They would sometimes be Lame on one side, sometimes on t'other. Sometimes very sore, sometimes restored unto their Limbs, and then Deaf, or Blind, or Dumb, for a long while together. Upon the Recovery of their Speech, they would Cough extreamly, and with much Flegm, they would bring up Crooked pins, and at one time, a Two-penny Nail, with a very broad Head. Commonly at the end of every Fit, they would cast up a pin. When the Children Read, they could not pronounce the Name of *Lord*, or *Jesus*, or *Christ*, but would fall into Fits; and say, Amy Duny *says, I must not use that Name.* When they came to the Name of *Satan* or *Devil*, they would clap their Fingers upon the Book, crying out, *This bites, but it makes me speak right well!* The Children in their Fits would often Cry out, *There stands* Amy Duny, or *Rose Cullendar*; and they would afterwards relate, *That these Witches appearing before them, threatned them, that if they told of what they saw or heard, they would Torment them more than ever they did before.*

V. *Margaret Arnold*, the Sister to Mr. *Pacy*, Testifi'd unto the like Sufferings being upon the Children, at her House, whether her Brother had removed them. And that sometimes, the Children *(only)* would see things like Mice, run about the House; and one of them suddenly snap'd one with the Tongs, and threw it into the Fire, where it screeched out like a Rat. At another time, a thing like a Bee flew at the Face of the younger Child, the Child fell into a Fit, and at last Vomited up a *Two-penny Nail*, with a Broad Head; affirming, *That the Bee brought this Nail, and forced it into her Mouth.* The Child would in like manner be assaulted with Flies, which brought crooked Pins unto her, and made her first swallow them, and then Vomit them. She one day caught an Invisible Mouse, and throwing it into the Fire, it flush'd like to Gun-Powder. None besides the Child saw the Mouse, but every one saw the Flash. She also declared out of her Fits, that in them, *Amy Duny* much tempted her to destroy herself.

VI. As for *Ann Durent*, her Father testified, That upon a Discontent of *Rose Calender*, his Daughter was taken with much Ilness in her Stomach, and great and sore pains, like the pricking of Pins, and then Swooning Fits, from which recovering, she declared, *She had seen the Apparition of* Rose Cullender, *threatning to Torment her.* She likewise Vomited up divers Pins. The Maid was present at Court, but when

Cullender

Cullender looked upon her, she fell into such Fits, as made her utterly unable to declare any thing.

Ann Baldwin deposed the same.

VII. Jane Bocking, who was too weak to be at the Assizes, but her Mother Testified, that her Daughter having formerly been Afflicted with Swooning Fits, and Recovered of them, was now taken with a great pain in her Stomach, and New Swooning Fits. That she took little Food, but every day Vomited Crooked pins. In her first Fits, she would extend her Arms, and use postures as if she catched at something; and when her Clutched Hands were forced open, they would find several pins diversely Crooked, unaccountably lodged there. She would also maintain a Discourse with some that were invisibly present, when casting abroad her Arms, she would often say, *I will not have it*! but at last say, *Then I will have it*! and closing her hand, which when they presently after opened, a Lath Nail was found in it. But her great Complaints were of being visited by the shapes of *Amy Duny*, and *Rose Cullender*.

VIII. As for *Susan Chandler*, her Mother Testified, That being at the Search of *Rose Cullender*, they found on her Belly a thing like a Teat, of an Inch long; which the said *Rose* ascribed to a strain. But near her privy parts, they found three more, that were smaller than the former. At the end of the long Teat, there was a little hole, which appeared as if newly Sucked; and upon straining it, a white Milky Matter issued out. The Deponent further said, That her Daughter being one day concerned at *Rose Cullenders*, taking her by the hand she fell very sick, and at night cry'd out, *That* Rose Cullender *would come to Bed unto her.* Her Fits grew violent, and in the Intervals of them, she declared, *That she saw* Rose Cullender *in them, and once having of a great Dog with her.* She also Vomited up crooked pins; and when she was brought into Court, she fell into her Fits. She recovered her self in some time, and was asked by the Court, whether she was in a condition to take an Oath, and give Evidence. She said she could, but having been Sworn, she fell into her Fits again, and *Burn her*! *Burn her*! were all the words that she could obtain power to speak. Her Father likewise gave the same Testimony with her Mother, as to all but the Search.

IX. Here was the sum of the Evidence: which was not thought sufficient to Convict the Prisoners. For admitting the Children

dren were Bewitched, yet, said he, it can never be apply'd unto the Prisoners, upon the Imagination of the Parties only Afflicted; inasmuch as no person whatsoever could then be in Safety.

Dr. *Brown*, a very Learned person then present, gave his Opinion, that these persons were bewitched. He added, that in *Denmark*, there had been lately a great discovery of Witches; who used the very same way of afflicting people, by conveying Pins and Nails into them. His opinion was, that the Devil in Witchcrafts, did work upon the Bodys of Men and Women, upon a *Natural Foundation*; and that he did Extraordinarily afflict them, with such Distempers as their Bodies were most subject unto.

X. The Experiment about the *Usefulness*, yea, or *Lawfulness* whereof Good Men have sometimes disputed, was divers Times made, that tho' the afflicted were utterly deprived of all sense in their Fits, yet upon the *Touch* of the accused, they would so screech out, and fly up, as not upon any other persons. And yet it was also found that once upon the touch of an innocent person, the like effect followed, which put the whole Court unto a stand: altho' a small Reason was at length attempted to be given for it.

XI. However, to strengthen the Credit of what had been already produced against the Prisoners, one *John Soam* testified, that bringing home his Hay in Three Carts, one of the Carts wrenched the Window of *Rose Cullenders* House, whereupon she flew out, with violent Threatnings against the Deponent. The other two Carts, passed by twice, Loaded, that day afterwards; but the Cart which touched *Cullenders* House, was twice or thrice that day overturned. Having again Loaded it, as they brought it thro' the Gate which leades out of the Field, the Cart struck so fast in the Gates Head, that they could not possibly get it thro, but were forced to cut down the Post of the Gate, to make the Cart pass thro, altho they could not perceive that the Cart did of either side touch the Gate-Post. They afterwards, did with much Difficulty get it home to the Yard; but could not for their Lives get the Cart near the place, where they should unload. They were fain to unload at a great Distance; and when they were Tired, the Noses of them that came to assist them, would burst forth a Bleeding; so they were fain to give over till next morning; and then they unloaded without any difficulty.

XII. *Robert Sherringham* also Testified, that the Axle-Tree of his Cart, happening in passing, to break some part of *Rose Cullenders* House, in her Anger, at it, she vehemently threatned him, *His Horses should suffer for it.* And within a short time, all his Four Horses dyed; after which he sustained many other Losses in the sudden dying of his Cattle. He was also taken with a Lameness in his Limbs; and so vexed with Lice of an extraordinary Number and Bigness, that no Art could hinder the Swarming of them, till he burnt up two Suits of Apparel.

XIII. As for *Amy Duny*, 'twas Testifi'd by one *Richard Spencer* that he heard her say, *That the Devil would not let her Rest; until she were Revenged on the Wife of* Cornelius Sandswel. And that *Sandswel* testifi'd, that her Poultry dy'd suddainly, upon *Amy Dunys* threatening of them; and that her Husbands Chimny fell, quickly after *Duny* had spoken of such a disaster. And a Firkin of Fish could not be kept from falling into the Water, upon suspicious words of *Dunys*.

XIV. The Judge told the Jury, they were to inquire now, first, whether these Children were Bewitched; and secondly, Whether the Prisoners at the Bar were guilty of it. He made no doubt, there were such Creatures as witches; for the Scriptures affirmed it; and the Wisdom of all Nations had provided Laws against such persons. He prayed the God of Heaven to direct their Hearts in the weighty thing they had in hand; for *To Condemn the Innocent, and let the Guilty go free, were both an Abomination to the Lord.*

The Jury in half an hour brought them in Guilty upon the several Indictments, which were Nineteen in Number.

The next Morning, the Children with their Parents, came to the Lodgings of the Lord Chief Justice, and were in as good health as ever in their Lives; being restored within half an Hour after the Witches were Convicted.

The Witches were Executed; and *Confessed* nothing; which indeed will not be wondred by them, who Consider and Entertain the Judgment of a Judicious Writer, *That the Unpardonable Sin, is most usually Committed by Professors of the Christian Religion, falling into Witchcraft.*

We will now proceed upon several of the like Tryals among our selves.

I.

THE

TRYAL of G. B.

At a Court of

O Y E R and T E R M I N E R.

Held in *S A L E M*, 1692.

GLad should I have been, if I had never known the Name of this Man; or never had this occasion to mention so much as the first Letters of his Name. But the Government requiring some Account of his Trial

Trial to be inserted in this Book, it becomes me with all Obedience to submit unto the Order.

I. This *G. B.* Was Indicted for Witchcraft, and in the prosecution of the Charge against him, he was accused by five or six of the Bewitched, as the Author of their Miseries; he was accused by Eight of the Confessing Withes, as being an head Actor at some of their Hellish Randezvouzes, and one who had the promise of being a King in Satan's Kingdom, now going to be Erected: He was accused by Nine Persons for extradinary Lifting, and such feats of strength, as could not be done without a Diabolical Assistance. And for other such things he was accused, untill about thirty Testimonies were brought in against him; nor were these judged the half of what might have been considered for his Conviction: However they were enough to fix the Character of a Witch upon him according to the Rules of Reason in, by the Judicious *Gaule*, in that Case directed.

II. The Court being sensible, that the Testimonies of the Parties Bewitched, used to have a Room amongst the Suspecions or Presumptions, brought in against one Indicted for Witchcraft; there were now heard the Testimonies of several Persons, who were most notoriously Bewitched, and every day Tortured by invisible Hands, and these now all charged the Specters of *G. B.* to have a share in their Torments At the Examination of this *G. B.* the Bewitched People were greviously harrassed with Preternatural Mischiefs, which could not possibly be Dissembled; and they all still ascribed it unto the endeavours of *G. B.* to Kill them. And now upon the Tryal of one of the Bewitched Persons, testified that in her Agonies, a little black Haired Man came to her, saying his name was *B.* and bidding her set her hand to a Book which he shewed unto her; and bragging that he was a *Conjurer*, above the ordinary Rank of Witches; That he often persecuted her with the offer of that Book, saying, *She should be well, and need fear no body if she would but sign it*; But he inflicted cruel Pains and Hurts upon her, because of her denying so to do. The Testimonies of the other Sufferers concurred with these; and it was remarkable, that whereas Biting was one of the ways which the Witches used for the vexing the Sufferers; when they cryed out of *G. B.* Biting them, the print of their Teeth would be seen on the Flesh of the Complainers, and just such a set of Teeth as *G. B*'s would then appear upon them, which could be distinguished from those of some other Men. Others of them testified, that in their Torments, *G. B.* tempted them to go unto a Sacrament, unto which they perceived him with a Sound of Trumpet, Summoning of other Witches who quickly after the Sound, would come from all Quarters unto the Rendezvouze. One of them falling into a kind of Trance, affirmed, that *G. B.* had carried her away into a very high Mountain, where he shewed her mighty and glorious Kingdoms, and said, *He would give them all to her if she would*

write in his Book; but she told him, *They were none of his to give*; and refused the Motions; enduring of much misery for that refusal.

It cost the Court a wonderful deal of Trouble, to hear the Testimonies of the Sufferers; for when they were going to give in their Depositions, they would for a long time be taken with Fits, that made them uncapable of saying any thing. The chief Judge asked the Prisoner, who he thought hindred these Witnesses from giving their *Testimonies*? And he answered, *He supposed it was the Devil.* That Honourable person replied, *How comes the Devil then to be so loath to have any Testimony born against you*? Which cast him into very great Confusion.

III. It has been a frequent thing for the bewitched People to be entertained with Apparitions of Ghosts of Murdred People, at the same time that the Spectres of the Witches trouble them. These Ghosts do always affright the beholders more than all the other spectral Representations; and when they exhibit themselves, they cry out, of being Murdred by the Witchcrafts or other Violences of the Persons who are then in Spectre present. It is further considered, that once or twice, these Apparitions have been seen by others, at the very same time they have shewn themselves to the Bewitched; and seldom have there been these Apparitions, but when something unusual or unsuspected, have attended the Death of the Party thus appearing. Some that have been accused by these Apparitions accosting of the Bewitched People, who had never heard a word of any such Persons ever being in the world, have upon a fair Examination, freely and fully confessed the Murthers of those very Persons, altho' these also did not know how the Apparitions had complained of them. Accordingly several of the Bewitched, had given in their Testimony, that they had been troubled with the Apparitions of two Women, who said, that they were *G. B.*'s two Wives, and that he had been the death of them; and that the Magistrates must be told of it, before whom if *B.* upon his Tryal denied it, they did not know but that they should appear again in Court. Now *G. B.* had been Infamous for the barbarous usage of his two late Wives, all the Country over. Moreover, it was testified, the Spectre of *G. B.* threatning of the Sufferers, told them, he had killed (besides others) Mrs. *Lawson* and her Daughter *Ann.* And it was noted, that these were the Vertuous Wife and Daughter of one at whom this *G. B.* might have a prejudice, for his being serviceable at *Salem Village*, from whence himself had in ill Terms removed some years before: And that when they dy'd: which was long since, there were some odd Circumstances about them, which made some of the Attendents there suspect something of Witchcraft, tho none Imagined from what Quarter it should come.

Well, *G. B.* being now upon his Tryal, one of the Bewitched Persons was cast into Horror at the Ghost of *B*'s two Deceased Wives then appearing before him, and crying for *Vengeance* against him. Hereupon several

ral of the Bewitched Persons were successively called in, who all not knowing what the former had seen and said, concurred in their Horrour of the Apparition, which they affirmed that he had before him. But he, tho much appalled, utterly denyed that he discerned any thing of it; nor was it any part of his *Conviction*.

IV. Judicious Writers have assigned it a great place in the Conviction of *Witches, when Persons are Impeached by other notorious Witches, to be as ill as themselves; especially, if the persons have been much noted for neglecting the Worship of God.* Now, as there might have been Testimonies enough of *G. B*'s Antipathy to *Prayer*, and the other Ordinances of God, tho by his Profession, singularly obliged thereunto; so, there now came in against the Prisoner, the Testimonies of several Persons, who confessed their own having been horrible Witches, and ever since their Confessions, had been themselves terribly Tortured by the Devils and other Witches, even like the other Sufferers; and therein undergone the Pains of many Deaths for their Confessions.

These now testified, that *G. B.* had been at Witch-meetings with them; and that he was the person who had Seduced, and Compelled them into the snares of Witchcraft: That he promised them *Fine Cloaths*, for doing it; that he brought Poppets to them, and Thorns to stick into those Poppets, for the Afflicting of other People; and that he exhorted them with the rest of the Crew, to Bewitch all *Salem Village*, but beware to do it Gradually, if they would prevail in what they did.

When the *Lancashire Witches* were condemned, I don't remember that there was any considerable further Evidence, than that of the Bewiched, and than that of some that confessed. We see so much already against *G. B.* But this being indeed not enough, there were other things to render what had been already produced Credible.

V. A famous Divine recites this among the Convictions of a Witch; *The Testimony of the party Bewitched, whether Pining or Dying; together with the joynt Oaths of sufficient Persons that have seen certain Prodigious Pranks or Feats wrought by the Party accused.* Now, God had been pleased so to leave this *G. B.* that he had ensnared himself by several Instances, which he had formerly given of a Preternatural strength, and which were now produced against him. He was a very Puny Man, yet he had often done things beyond the strength of a Gyant. A Gun of about seven foot Barrel, and so heavy that strong Men could not steadily hold it out with both hands; there were several Testimonies, given in by persons of Credit and Honour, that he made nothing of taking up such a Gun behind the Lock, with but one hand, and holding it out like a Pistol, at Arms end. *G. B.* in his Vindication, was so foolish as to say, *That an* Indian *was there, and held it out at the same time*: Whereas none of the Spectators ever saw any such *Indian*; but they supposed, the *Black Man*, (as the Witches call the Devil; and they generally say he resembles an *Indian*) might

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give him that Assistance. There was Evidence likewise brought in, that he made nothing of taking up a whole Barrel filled with *Malasses* or *Cider*, in very disadvantageous Postures, and carrying of them through the difficult places out of a Canoo to the Shore.

Yea, there are two Testimonies, that *G. B.* with only putting the Forefinger of his Right Hand into the Muzzle of an heavy Gun, a Fowling-piece of about six or seven foot Barrel, did lift up the Gun, and hold it out at Arms-end; a Gun which the Deponents thought strong men could not with both hands lift up, and hold out at the But-end, as is usual. Indeed, one of these Witnesses was over perswaded by some persons, to be out of the way upon *G. B's* Tryal; but he came afterward with Sorrow for his withdraw, and gave his Testimony: Nor were either of these Witnesses made use of as Evidences in the Trial.

VI. There came in several Testimonies relating to the Domestick Affairs of G. B. which had a very hard aspect upon him; and not only proved him a very ill man; but also confirmed the belief of the Character, which had been already fastned on him.

'Twas testifi'd, that keeping his two Successive Wives in a strange kind of Slavery, he would when he came home from abroad, pretend to tell the Talk which any had with them; That he has brought them to the point of Death, by his harsh dealings with his Wives, and then made the People about him, to promise that in case Death should happen, they would say nothing of it; That he used all means to make his Wives write, sign, Seal, and Swear a Covenant, never to reveal any of his Secret; That his Wives had privately complained unto the Neighbours about frightful Apparitions of Evil Spirits, with which their House was sometimes infested, and that many such things have been whispered among the Neighbourhood. There were also some other Testimonies relating to the Death of People whereby the Consciences of an Impartial Jury were convinced that G. B. had Bewitched the Persons mentioned in the Complaints. But I am forced to omit several such passages, in this, as well as in all the succeeding Tryals, because the Scribes who took notice of them, have not supplyed me.

VII. One Mr. *Ruck*, Brother-in-Law to this G. B. testified, that G.B. and himself, and his Sister, who was G B's Wife, going out for two or three Miles to gather Straw buries, *Ruck* with his Sister, the Wife of G. B. Rode home very Softly, with G. B. on Foot in their Company, G. B. stept aside a little into the Bushes; whereupon they halted and Holloo'd for him. He not answering, they went homewards, with a quickened pace, without expectation of seeing him in a considerable while; and yet when they were got near home, to their Astonishment, they found him on foot with them, having a Basket of Straw-berries. G.B. immediately then fell to Chiding his Wife, on the account of what she had been speaking to her

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Brother, of him, on the Road: which when they wondred at, he said, *He knew their thoughts.* *Ruck* being startled at that, made some Reply, intimating, that the Devil himself did not know so far; but G. B. answered, *My God makes known your Thoughts unto me.* The Prisoner now at the Bar had nothing to answer, unto what was thus witnessed against him, that was worth considering. Only he said, *Ruck, and his Wife left a Man with him, when they left him.* Which *Ruck* now affirmed to be false: and when the Court asked G. B. *What the mans name was?* his Countenance was much altered; nor could he say, who 'twas. But the Court began to think, that he then step'd aside, only that by the assistance of the *Black Man*, he might put on his *Invisibility*, and in that *Fascinating Mist*, gratifie his own Jealous Humour, to hear what they said of him. Which trick of rendering themselves Invisible, our Witches do in their Confessions pretend, that they sometimes are Masters of; and it is the more credible, because their is Demonstration, that they often render many other thing utterly Invisible.

VIII. *Faltering, faulty, unconstant, and contrary Answers unpon judicial and deliberate Examination*, are counted some unlucky Symptoms of Guilt, in all Crimes, especially in Witchcrafts. Now their never was a Prisoner more eminent for them, than G. B. both at his Examination and on his Trial. His *Tergiversations*, *Contradictions*, and *Falshoods*, were very sinsible: he had little to say, but that had heard some things that he could not prove Reflecting upon the Reputation of some of the Witnesses. Only he gave in a Paper to the Jury; wherein, altho he had many times before, granted, not only that there are Witches, but also, that the present sufferings of the Country are the effects of horrible Witches, yet he now goes to evince it, *That there neither are, nor ever were Witches, that having made a Compact with the Devil, can send a Devil to Terment other People at a distance.* This Paper was Transcribed out of *Ady*; which the Court presently knew, as soon as they heard it. But he said, he had taken none of it out of any Book; for which, his Evasion afterwards, was, That a Gentlemen gave him the Discourse in a Manuscript, from whence he Transcribed it.

IX. The Jury brought him in Guilty: But when he came to Die, he utterly denyed the Fact, whereof he had been thus convicted.

II. *The Tryal of* Briget Bishop, *alias* Oliver, *at the Court of* Oyer *and* Terminer, *held at* Salem, *June* 2. 1692.

I. SHE was Indicted for Bewitching of several persons in the Neighbourhood; the Indictment being drawn up, accoding to the *Form* in such

such Cases usual. And pleading, *Not Guilty*, there were brought in several persons, who had long undergone many kinds of miseries, which were preternaturally inflicted, and generally ascribed unto an horrible Witchcraft. There was little occasion to prove the Witchcraft, it being evident and notorious to all the beholders. Now to fix the Witchcraft on the Prisoner at the Bar, the first thing used, was the Testimony of the Bewitched; whereof several testified, That the *Shape* of the Prisoner did oftentime very grievously Pinch them, Choak them, Bite them, and Afflict them; urging them to write their names in a Book, which the said Spectre called *Ours*. One of them did further testifie, that it was the *Shape* of this Prisoner, with another, which one day took her from her Wheel, and carrying her to the River-side, threatned there to Drown her, if she did not sign to the Book mentioned: which yet she refused. Others of them did also testifie that the said *Shape*, did in her Threats brag to them, that she had been the Death of sundry Persons, then by her named; that she had *Ridden* a man then likewise named. Another testified, the Apparition of the *Ghosts* unto the Spectre of *Bishop*, cryed out, *You Murdered* us! About the Truth whereof, there was in the Matter of Fact but too much suspicion.

II. It was testified, That at the Examination of the Prisoner before the Magistrates, the Bewitched were extreamly tortured. If she did but cast her Eyes on them, they were presently struck down; and this in such a manner as their could be no Colluſion in the Business. But upon the Touch of her Hand upon them, when they lay in their Swoons, they would immediately Revive; and not upon the Touch of any ones else. Moreover, upon some Special Actions of her Body, as the shaking of her Head, or the turning of her Eyes, they presently and painfully fell into the like Postures. And many of the like Accidents now fell out, while she was at the Bar. One at the same time testifying, that she said, *She could not be troubled to see the afflicted thus tormented.*

III. There was Testimony likewise brought in, that a Man striking once at the place, where a bewitched person said, the *Shape* of this *Bishop* stood, the bewitched cried out, *That he had tore her Coat*, in the place then particularly specified; and the Womans Coat was found to be Torn in that very place.

IV. One *Deliverance Hobbs*, who had confessed her being a Witch, was now tormented by the Spectres, for her Confession. And she now testified, That this *Bishop* tempted her to Sign the Book again, and to deny what she had confessed. She affirmed, that it was the Shape of this Prisoner, which whipped her with Iron Rods, to compel her thereunto. And she affirmed, that this *Bishop* was at a General Meeting of the Witches, in a Field at *Salem*-Village, and there partook of a Diabolical Sacrament in Bread and Wine then administred.

V. To

V. To render it further unquestionable, that the Prisoner at the Bar, was the Person truly charged in THIS *Witchcraft*, there were produced many Evidence of OTHER *Witchcrafts*, by her perpetrated. For Instance, *John Cook* testifi'd, That above five or six Years ago, one Morning, about Sun-Rise, he was in his Chamber assaulted by the *Shape* of this Prisoner: which look'd on him, grinn'd at him, and very much hurt him with a Blow on the side of the Head: and that on the same day, about Noon, the same *Shape* walked in the Room where he was, and an Apple strangely flew out of his Hand, into the Lap of his Mother, six or eight Foot from him.

VI. *Samuel Gray* testified, That about fourteen Years ago, he wak'd on a Night, and saw the Room where he lay full of Light; and that he then saw plainly a Woman between the Cradle, and the Bed-side, which look'd upon him. He rose, and it vanish'd; tho he found the Doors all fast. Looking out at the Entry-door, he saw the same Woman, in the same Garb again; and said, *In God's Name, what do you come for?* He went to Bed, and had the same Woman again assaulting him. The Child in the Cradle gave a great Screech, and the Woman disappeared. It was long before the Child could be quietted; and tho it were a very likely thriving Child, yet from this time it pined away, and, after divers Months, died in a sad Condition. He knew not *Bishop*, nor her Name; but when he saw her after this, he knew by her Countenance, and Apparel, and all Circumstances, that it was the Apparition of this *Bishop*, which had thus troubled him.

VII. *John Bly* and his Wife testifi'd, That he bought a Sow of *Edward Bishop*, the Husband of the Prisoner; and was to pay the Price agreed, unto another Person. This Prisoner being angry that she was thus hindred from fingring the Money, quarrell'd with *Bly*. Soon after which, the Sow was taken with strange Fits; Jumping, Leaping, and Knocking her Head against the Fence; she seem'd Blind and Deaf, and would neither Eat, nor be Suck'd. Whereupon, a Neighbour said, she believed the Creature was *Over-looked*; and sundry other Circumstances concurred, which made the Deponents believe that *Bishop* had bewitched it.

VIII. *Richard Coman* testifi'd, That eight Years ago, as he lay awake in his Bed, with a Light burning in the Room, he was annoy'd with the Apparition of this *Bishop*, and of two more that were strangers to him, who came and oppressed him so, that he could neither stir himself, nor wake any one else, and that he was the Night after molested again, in the like manner; the said *Bishop*, taking him by the Throat, and pulling him almost out of the Bed. His Kinsman offered for this cause to Lodge with him; and that Night, as they were awake, discoursing together, this *Coman* was once more visited by the Guests which had formerly been so troublesome; his Kinsman being at the same time struck Speechless, and unable to move Hand or

Foot. He had laid his Sword by him; which these unhappy Spectres did strive much to wrest from him, only he held too fast for them. He then grew able to call the People of his House; but altho they heard him, yet they had not power to speak or stir; until at last, one of the People crying out, *What's the matter?* The Spectres all vanished.

IX. *Samuel Shattock* testifi'd, That in the Year, 1680. this *Bridget Bishop*, often came to his House upon such frivolous and foolish Errands, that they suspected she came indeed with a purpose of Mischief. Whereupon, presently his eldest Child, which was of a promising Health and Sense, as any Child of its Age, began to droop exceedingly; and the oftner that *Bishop* came to the House, the worse grew the Child. As the Child would be standing at the Door, he would be thrown and bruised against the Stones, by an invisible Hand, and in like sort knock his Face against the sides of the House, and bruise it after a miserable manner. Afterwards this *Bishop* would bring him things to Dye, whereof he could not imagin any use; and when she paid him a piece of Mony, the Purse and Mony were unaccountably conveyed out of a lock'd Box, and never seen any more. The Child was immediately, hereupon, taken with terrible Fits, whereof his Friends thought he would have died: Indeed he did almost nothing but Cry and Sleep for several Months together; and at length his Understanding was utterly taken away. Among other Symptoms of an Inchantment upon him, one was, That there was a Board in the Garden, whereon he would walk; and all the Invitations in the World could never fetch him off. About 17 or 18 years after, there came a Stranger to *Shattock*'s House, who seeing the Child, said, *This poor Child is Bewitched; and you have a Neighbour living not far off, who is a Witch.* He added, *Your Neighbour has had a falling out with your Wife; and she said in her Heart, your Wife is a proud Woman, and she would bring down her Pride in this Child.* He then remembred, that *Bishop* had parted from his Wife in muttering and menacing Terms, a little before the Child was taken Ill. The aboveſaid Stranger would needs carry the bewitched Boy with him, to *Bishop*'s House, on pretence of buying a Pot of Cyder. The Woman entertained him in a furious manner; and flew also upon the boy, scratching his Face till the Blood came; and saying, *Thou Rogue, what dost thou bring this Fellow here to plague me?* Now it seems the Man had said, before he went, That he would fetch Blood of her. Ever after the Boy was follow'd with grievous Fits, which the Doctors themselves generally ascribed unto *Witchcraft*; and wherein he would be thrown still into the *Fire* or the *Water*, if he were not constantly look'd after; and it was verily believed that *Bishop* was the cause of it.

X. *John Louder* testifi'd, That upon some little Controversie with *Bishop* about her Fowls, going well to Bed, he did awake in the Night by Moon-

light

light, and did see clearly the likeness of this Woman grievously oppressing him; in which miserable condition she held him, unable to help himself, till near Day. He told *Bishop* of this; but she deny'd it, and threatned him very much. Quickly after this, being at home on a Lords day, with the doors shut about him, he saw a black Pig approach him; at which, he going to kick, it vanished away. Immediately after, sitting down, he saw a black Thing jump in at the Window, and come and stand before him. The Body was like that of a Monkey, the Feet like a Cocks, but the Face much like a Mans. He being so extreamly affrighted, that he could not speak; this Monster spoke to him, and said, *I am a Messenger sent unto you, for I understand that you are in some Trouble of Mind, and if you will be ruled by me, you shall want for nothing in this World.* Whereupon he endeavoured to clap his Hands upon it; but he could feel no substance; and it jumped out of the Window again; but immediately came in by the Porch, tho the Doors were shut, and said, *You had better take my Counsel!* He then struck at it with a Stick, but struck only the Ground-sel, and broke the Stick: The Arm with which he struck was presently Disenabled, and it vanished away. He presently went out at the Back-door, and spied this *Bishop*, in her Orchard, going toward her House; but he had no power to set one foot forward unto her. Whereupon, returning into the House, he was immediately accosted by the Monster he had seen before; which Goblin was now going to flie at him; whereat he cry'd out, *The whole Armour of God be between me and you!* So it sprang back, and flew over the Apple-Tree; shaking many Apples off the Tree, in its flying over. At its leap, it flung Dirt with its Feet against the Stomack of the Man; whereon he was then struck Dumb, and so continued for three Days together. Upon the producing of this Testimony, *Bishop* deny'd that she knew this Deponent: Yet their two Orchards joined; and they had often had their little Quarrels for some years together.

XI. *William Stacy* testify'd, That receiving Money of this *Bishop*, for work done by him; he was gone but a matter of three Rods from her, and looking for his Mony, found it unaccountably gone from him. Some time after, *Bishop* asked him, whether his Father would grind her Grist for her? He demanded why? She reply'd, *Because Folks count me a Witch.* He answered, *No question but he will grind it for you.* Being then gone about six Rods from her, with a small Load in his Cart, suddenly the Off-wheel stump'd, and sunk down into an hole, upon plain Ground; so that the Deponent was forc'd to get help for the Recovering of the Wheel: But stepping back to look for the hole, which might give him this Disaster, there was none at all to be found. Some time after, he was waked in the Night; but it seem'd as light as day; and he perfectly saw the shape of this

Bishop in the Room, troubling of him; but upon her going out, all was dark again. He charg'd *Bishop* afterwards with it, and she deny'd it not; but was very angry. Quickly after, this Deponent having been threatned by *Bishop*, as he was in a dark Night going to the Barn, he was very suddenly taken or lifted from the Ground, and thrown against a Stone-wall: After that, he was again hoisted up and thrown down a Bank, at the end of his House. After this, again passing by this *Bishop*, his Horse with a small Load, striving to draw, all his Gears flew to pieces, and the Cart fell down; and this Deponent going then to lift a Bag of Corn, of about two Bushels, could not budge it with all his Might.

Many other Pranks of this *Bishop*'s, this Deponent was ready to testifie. He also testifi'd, That he verily believ'd, the said *Bishop*, was the Instrument of his Daughter *Priscilla*'s Death; of which suspicion, pregnant Reasons were assigned.

XII. To crown all, *John Bly* and *William Bly* testifi'd, That being employ'd by *Bridget Bishop*, to help to take down the Cellar-wall of the old House, wherein she formerly lived, they did in holes of the said old Wall, find several *Poppets*, made up of Rags and Hogs-bristles, with headless Pins in them, the Points being outward; whereof she could now give no Account unto the Court, that was reasonable or tolerable.

XIII. One thing that made against the Prisoner was, her being evidently convicted of *gross Lying* in the Court, several times, while she was making her Plea; but besides this, a Jury of Women found a preternatural Teat upon her Body: But upon a second Search, within 3 or 4 hours, there was no such thing to be seen. There was also an Account of other People whom this Woman had afflicted; and there might have been many more, if they had been enquired for; but there was no need of them.

XIV. There was one very strange thing more, with which the Court was newly entertained. As this Woman was under a Guard, passing by the great and spacious Meeting-house of *Salem*, she gave a Look towards the House; and immediately a *Demon* invisibly entring the Meeting-house, tore down a part of it; so that tho there was no Person to be seen there, yet the People, at the noise, running in, found a Board, which was strongly fastned, with several Nails, transported unto another quarter of the House.

III. *The Tryal of* Susanna Martin, *at the Court of* Oyer *and* Terminer, *held by Adjournment at* Salem, June 29. 1692.

I. *Susanna Martin*, pleading *Not Guilty* to the Indictment of *Witchcraft*, brought in against her, there were produced the Evidences of many

ny Persons very sensibly and grieviously Bewitched; who all complained of the Prisoner at the Bar, as the Person whom they believed the cause of their Miseries. And now, as well as in the other Tryals, there was an extraordinary Endeavour by *Witchcrafts*, with Cruel and frequent Fits, to hinder the poor Sufferers from giving in their Complaints, which the Court was forced with much Patience to obtain, by much waiting and watching for it.

II. There was now also an account given of what passed at her first Examination before the Magistrates. The Cast of her *Eye*, then striking the afflicted People to the Ground, whether they saw that Cast or no; there were these among other Passages between the Magistrates and the Examinate.

Magistrate. Pray, What ails these People?

Martin. I don't know.

Magist. But what do you think ails them?

Martin. I don't desire to spend my Judgment upon it.

Magist. Don't you think they are bewitch'd?

Martin. No, I do not think they are.

Magist. Tell us your Thoughts about them then.

Martin. No, my Thoughts are my own, when they are in, but when they are out they are anothers. Their Master ——

Magist. Their Master! Who do you think is their Master?

Martin. If they be dealing in the Black Art, you may know as well as I.

Magist. Well, What have you done towards this?

Martin. Nothing at all.

Magist. Why, 'tis you or your appearance.

Martin. I cannot help it.

Magist. Is it not your Master? How comes your Appearance to hurt these?

Martin. How do I know? He that appeared in the Shape of *Samuel*, a glorified Saint, may appear in any ones Shape.

It was then also noted in her, as in others like her, that if the Afflicted went to approach her, they were flung down to the Ground. And, when she was asked the Reason of it, she said, *I cannot tell; it may be, the Devil bears me more malice than another.*

III. The Court accounted themselves alarum'd by these Things, to enquire further into the Conversation of the Prisoner; and see what there might occur, to render these Accusations further credible. Whereupon, *John Allen* of *Salisbury*, testifi'd, That he refusing, because of the weakness of his Oxen, to Cart some Staves at the request of this *Martin*, she was displeased at it; and said, *It had been as good that he had; for his Oxen should never do him much more Service.* Whereupon, this Deponent said, *Dost thou threaten me, thou old Witch? I'll throw thee into the Brook:* Which

to

to avoid, she flew over the Bridge, and escaped. But, as he was going home, one of his Oxen tired, so that he was forced to Unyoke him, that he might get him home. He then put his Oxen, with many more, upon *Salisbury* Beach, where Cattel did use to get *Flesh*. In a few days, all the Oxen upon the Beach were found by their Tracks, to have run unto the Mouth of *Merimack-River*, and not returned; but the next day they were found come ashore upon *Plum-Island*. They that sought them, used all imaginable gentleness, but they would still run away with a violence, that seemed wholly Diabolical, till they came near the Mouth of *Merimack-River*; when they ran right into the Sea, swimming as far as they could be seen. One of them then swam back again, with a Swiftness, amazing to the Beholders, who stood ready to receive him, and help up his tired Carcass: But the Beast ran furiously up into the Island, and from thence, thorough the Marshes, up into *Newbury* Town, and so up into the Woods; and there after a while found near *Amesbury*. So that, of fourteen good Oxen, there was only this saved: The rest were all cast up, some in one place, and some in another, Drowned.

IV. *John Atkinson* testified, That he exchanged a Cow, with a Son of *Susanna Martin*'s; whereat she mutter'd, and was unwilling he should have it. Going to receive this Cow, tho he Hamstring'd her, and Halter'd her, she, of a Tame Creature, grew so mad, that they could scarce get her along. She broke all the Ropes that were fastned unto her, and though she were ty'd fast unto a Tree, yet she made her escape, and gave them such further trouble, as they could ascribe to no cause but Witchcraft.

V. *Bernard Peache* testified, That being in Bed, on the Lord's day at Night, he heard a scrabbling at the Window, whereat he then saw *Susanna Martin* come in, and jumpt down upon the Floor. She took hold of this Deponent's Feet, and drawing his Body up into an heap, she lay upon him near two hours; in all which time he could neither speak nor stir. At length, when he could begin to move, he laid hold on her Hand, and pulling it up to his Mouth, he bit three of her Fingers, as he judged, unto the Bone. Whereupon she went from the Chamber, down the Stairs, out at the Door. This Deponent thereupon called unto the People of the House, to advise them of what passed; and he himself did follow her. The People saw her not; but there being a Bucket at the Left-hand of the Door, there was a drop of Blood found upon it; and several more drops of Blood upon the Snow newly fallen abroad: There was likewise the print of her 2 Feet just without the Threashold; but no more sign of any Footing further off.

At another time this Deponent was desired by the Prisoner, to come unto an husking of Corn, at her House; and she said, *If he did not come, it were better that he did*: He went not; but the Night following, *Susanna Martin*,

Martin as he judged, and another came towards him. One of them said, *Here he is!* but he having a Quarter-staff, made a blow at them. The Roof of the Barn, broke his blow; but following them to the Window, he made another blow at them, and struck them down; yet they got up, and got out, and he saw no more of them.

About this time, there was a Rumour about the Town, that *Martin* had a broken Head; but the Deponent could say nothing to that.

The said *Peache* also testifi'd, the bewitching the Cattle to Death, upon *Martin*'s Discontents.

VI. *Robert Downer* testifi'd, That this Prisoner being some Years ago prosecuted at Court for a Witch, he then said unto her, *He believed she was a Witch.* Whereat, she being dissatisfied, said, *That some She-Devil would shortly fetch him away!* Which Words were heard by others, as well as himself. The Night following, as he lay in his Bed, there came in at the Window, the likeness of a Cat, which flew upon him, took fast hold of his Throat, lay on him a considerable while, and almost killed him. At length he remembred what *Susanna Martin* had threatned the day before; and with much striving he cried out, *Avoid, thou She-Devil! In the Name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Avoid!* Whereupon it left him, leap'd on the Floor, and flew out at the Window.

And there also came in several Testimonies, that before ever *Downer* spoke a Word of this Accident, *Susanna Martin*, and her Family, had related, *how this* Downer *had been handled!*

VII. *John Kembal* testified, that *Susanna Martin*, upon a Causeless Disgust, had threatned him, about a certain Cow of his, *That she should never do him any more good*; and it came to pass accordingly. For soon after, the Cow was found stark dead on the drie Ground, without any Distemper to be discerned upon her. Upon which he was followed with a strange Death upon more of his Cattle, whereof he lost in one Spring to the Value of Thirty Pounds. But the said *John Kembal* had a further Testimony to give in against the Prisoner which was truly admirable.

Being desirous to furnish himself with a Dog, he applied himself to buy one of this *Martin*, who had a Bitch with Whelps in her House. But she not letting him have his choice, he said, he would supply himself then at one *Blezdels*. Having mark'd a Puppy, which he lik'd at *Blezdels*, he met *George Martin*, the Husband of the Prisoner, going by, who asked him, *Whether he would not have one of his Wive's Puppies?* and he answered, *No.* The same Day, one *Edmund Elliot*, being at *Martin*'s House, heard *George Martin* relate, where this *Kembal* had been, and what he had said. Whereupon *Susanna Martin*, replied, *If I live, I'll give him Puppies enough.* Within a few days after, this *Kembal*, coming out of the Woods, there arose a little Black

Cloud,

Cloud in the N. W. and *Kembal* immediately felt a force upon him, which made him not able to avoid running upon the ſtumps of Trees, that were before him, albeit he had a broad plain Cart-way, before him; but tho he had his Ax alſo on his Shoulders to endanger him in his Falls, he could not forbear going out of his way to tumble over them. When he came below the Meeting-Houſe, there appear'd unto him, a little thing like a *Puppy*, of a Darkiſh Colour; and it ſhot backwards and forwards between his Legs. He had the Courage to uſe all poſſible endeavours of cutting it with his Ax; but he could not Hit it: the Puppy gave a jump from him, and went, as to him it ſeemed into the Ground. Going a little further, there appeared unto him a Black Puppy, ſomewhat bigger than the firſt, but as Black as a Cole. Its Motions were quicker than thoſe of his Ax; it flew at his Belly, and away; then at his Throat; ſo, over his Shoulders one way, and then over his Shoulder another way. His Heart now began to fail him, and he thought the Dog would have tore his Throat out. But he recovered himſelf, and called upon God in his Diſtreſs; and naming the Name of JESUS CHRIST, it vaniſhed away at once. The Deponent ſpoke not one Word of theſe Accidents, for fear of affrighting his Wife. But the next Morning, *Edmund Elliot*, going into *Martin*'s Houſe, this Woman asked him where *Kembal* was? He replied, *At home, a Bed, for ought he knew.* She returned *They ſay, he was frighted laſt Night.* Elliot asked, *With what?* She anſwered, *With Puppies.* *Elliot* asked, *Where ſhe heard of it, for he had heard nothing of it?* She rejoined, *About the Town.* Altho *Kembal* had mentioned the matter to no Creature living.

VIII. *William Brown* teſtifi'd, That Heaven having bleſſed him with a moſt Pious and Prudent Wife, this Wife of his, one day met with *Suſanna Martin*; but when ſhe approach'd juſt unto her, *Martin* vaniſhed out of ſight, and left her extreamly affrighted. After which time, the ſaid *Martin*, often appeared unto her, giving her no little trouble; and when ſhe did come, ſhe was vifited with Birds, that ſorely peck'd and prick'd her; and ſometimes, a Bunch, like a Pullet's Egg, would riſe in her Throat ready to choak her, till ſhe cry'd out, *Witch, you ſhan't choak me!* While this good Woman was in this extremity, the Church appointed a Day of Prayer, on her behalf; whereupon her Trouble ceas'd; ſhe ſaw not *Martin* as formerly; and the Church, inſtead of their Faſt, gave Thanks for her Deliverance. But a conſiderable while after, ſhe being Summon'd to give in ſome Evidence at the Court, againſt this *Martin*, quickly thereupon, this *Martin* came behind her, while ſhe was milking her Cow, and ſaid unto her, *For thy defaming me at Court, I'll make thee the miſrableſt Creature in the World.* Soon after which, ſhe fell into a ſtrange kind of diſtemper, and became horribly frantick, and uncapeble of any reaſonable Action; the Phyſicians declaring,

claring, that her Distemper was preternatural, and that some Devil had certainly bewitched her; and in that condition she now remained.

IX. *Sarah Atkinson* testifi'd, That *Susanna Martin* came from *Amesbury* to their House at *Newbury*, in an extraordinary Season, when it was not fit for any to Travel. She came (as she said, to *Atkinson*) all that long way on Foot. She brag'd and shew'd how dry she was; nor could it be perceived that so much as the Soles of her Shoes were wet. *Atkinson* was amazed at it; and professed, that she should her self have been wet up to the knees, if she had then come so far; but *Martin* reply'd, *She scorn'd to be Drabbled!* It was noted, that this Testimony upon her Trial, cast her in a very singular Confusion.

X. *John Pressy* testified, That being one Evening very unaccountably bewildred, near a Field of *Martins*, and several times, as one under an Enchantment, returning to the place he had left, at length he saw a marvellous Light, about the bigness of an Half-bushel, near two Rod, out of the way. He went, and struck at it with a Stick, and laid it on with all his might. He gave it near forty blows; and felt it a palpable Substance. But going from it, his Heels were struck up, and he was laid with his Back on the Ground, sliding, as he thought, into a Pit; from whence he recover'd by taking hold on the Bush; altho afterwards he could find no such Pit in the place. Having, after his recovery, gone five or six Rod, he saw *Susanna Martin* standing on his Left-hand, as the Light had done before; but they changed no words with one another. He could scarce find his House in his return; but at length he got home extremely affrighted. The next day, it was upon enquiry understood, that *Martin* was in a miserable condition, by pains and hurts that were upon her.

It was further testified by this Deponent, That after he had given in some Evidence against *Susanna Martin*, many years ago, she gave him foul words about it; and said, *He should never prosper more*; particularly, *That he should never have more than two Cows; that tho he was ver so likely to have more, yet he should never have them.* And that from that very day to this, namely for twenty years together, he could never exceed that number; but some strange thing or other still prevented his having any more.

XI. *Jervis Ring* testified, That about seven years ago, he was oftentimes and grievously oppressed in the Night, but saw not who troubled him; until at last he lying perfectly Awake, plainly saw *Susanna Martin* approach him. She came to him, and forcibly bit

him by the Finger; ſo that the Print of the bite is now, ſo long after, to be ſeen upon him.

XII. But beſides all theſe Evidences, there was a moſt wonderful Account of one *Joſeph Ring*, produced on this occaſion.

This Man has been ſtrangely carried about by *Dæmons*, from one *Witch-meeting* to another, for near two years together; and for one quarter of this time, they have made him, and keep him Dumb, tho he is now again able to ſpeak. There was one *T. H.* who having as 'tis judged, a deſign of engaging this *Joſeph Ring* in a ſnare of Deviliſm, contrived a while, to bring this *Ring* two Shillings in debt unto him.

Afterwards this poor Man would be viſited with unknown ſhapes, and this *T. H.* ſometimes among them; which would force him away with them, unto unknown Places, where he ſaw Meetings, Feaſtings, Dancings; and after his return, wherein they hurried him along through the Air, he gave Demonſtrations to the Neighbours, that he had indeed been ſo tranſported. When he was brought unto theſe helliſh Meetings, one of the firſt things they ſtill did unto him, was to give him a knock on the Back, whereupon he was ever as if bound with Chains, uncapable of ſtirring out of the place, till they ſhould releaſe him. He related, that there often came to him a Man, who preſented him a *Book*, whereto he would have him ſet his Hand; promiſing to him, that he ſhould then have even what he would; and preſenting him with all the delectable Things, Perſons and Places, that he could imagin. But he refuſing to ſubſcribe, the buſineſs would end with dreadful Shapes, Noiſes and Screeches, which almoſt ſcared him out of his Wits. Once with the Book, there was a Pen offered him, and an Inkhorn with Liquor in it, that ſeem'd like Blood: But he never toucht it.

This Man did now affirm, That he ſaw the Priſoner at ſeveral of thoſe helliſh Rendezvouzes.

Note, This Woman was one of the moſt impudent, ſcurrilous, wicked Creatures in the World; and ſhe did now throughout her whole Tryal, diſcover her ſelf to be ſuch an one. Yet when ſhe was asked, what ſhe had to ſay for her ſelf? Her chief Plea was, *That ſhe had lead a moſt virtuous and holy Life.*

IV. *The Tryal of* Elizabeth How, *at the Court of* Oyer *and* Terminer, *Held by Adjournment at* Salem, June 30. 1692.

I. *Elizabeth How* pleading *Not Guilty* to the Indictment of Witchcraft then charged upon her; the Court according to the uſual

usual Proceedings of the Courts in *England*, in such Cases, began with hearing the Depositions of several afflicted People, who were grievously tortured by sensible and evident *Witchcrafts*, and all complained of the Prisoner, as the cause of their Trouble. It was also found that the Sufferer were not able to bear her *Look*; as likewise that in their greatest Swoons, they distinguished her *Touch* from other Peoples, being thereby raised out of them.

And there was other Testimony of People to whom the Shape of this *How*, gave Trouble nine or ten Years ago.

II. It has been an usual thing for the Bewitched Persons, at the same time that the *Spectres* representing the *Witches*, troubled them, to be visited with Apparitions of *Ghosts*, pretending to have been Murdered by the *Witches* then represented. And sometimes the Confessions of the Witches afterwards acknowledged those very Murders, which these *Apparitions* charged upon them; tho they had never heard what Informations had been given by the Sufferers.

There were such Apparitions of Ghosts testified by some of the present Sufferers; and the Ghosts affirmed, that this *How* had Murder'd them: Which things were *fear'd*, but not *prov'd*.

III. This how had made some attempts of joining to the Church at *Ipswich*, several Years ago; but she was denied an admission into that holy Society; partly through a suspicion of Witchcraft, then urg'd against her. And there now came in Testimony of preternatural Mischiefs, presently befalling some who had been instrumental to bar her from the Communion whereupon she was Intruding.

IV. There was a particular Deposition of *Joseph Stafford*, That his Wife had conceiv'd an extreme averſion to this *How*, on the reports of her Witchcrafts: But *How* one day taking her by the Hand, and saying, *I believe you are not ignorant of the great Scandal I lye under, by an evil Report raised upon me.* She immediately unreasonably and unperswadeably, even like one Enchanted, began to take this Woman's part. *How* being soon after propounded, as desiring an admission to the Table of the Lord, some of the Pious Brethren were dissatisfied about her The Elders appointed a Meeting, to hear Matters objected against her; and no Arguments in the World could hinder this good Wife *Stafford* from going to the Lecture. She did indeed promise, with much ado, that she would not go to the Church meeting, yet she could not refrain going thither also. *How*'s affairs there were so canvased, that she came off rather *Guilty* than *Cleared*; nevertheless, good Wife *Stafford* could not forbear taking

her by the Hand, and saying, *Tho you are Condemned before Men, you are Justified before God.* She was quickly taken in a very strange manner, Ranting, Raving, Raging and crying out, *Goody* How *must come into the Church; she is a precious Saint; and tho she be Condemn'd before men, she is Justified before God.* So she continued for the space of two or three Hours; and then fell into a Trance. But coming to her self, she cry'd out, *Ha! I was mistaken;* and afterwards again repeated, *Ha! I was mistaken!* Being asked by a stander by, *Wherein?* She replied, *I thought* Goody How *had been a precious Saint of God, but now I see she is a Witch: She has Bewitched me, and my Child, and we shall never be well till there be a Testimony for her, that she may be taken into the Church.* And *How* said afterwards, that she was very sorry to see *Stafford* at the Church meeting mentioned. *Stafford* after this, declar'd her self to be afflicted by the Shape of *How*, and from that Shape, she endured many Miseries.

V. *John How*, Brother to the Husband of the Prisoner testified, that he refusing to accompany the Prisoner unto her Examination, as was by her desired, immediately some of his Cattle were Bewitched to Death, leaping three or four Foot high, turning about, speaking, falling and dying at once; and going to cut off an Ear for an use, that might as well perhaps have been omitted, the Hand wherein he held his Knife, was taken very Numb, and so it remained, and full of Pain, for several days, being not well at this very time. And he suspected the Prisoner for the Author of it.

VI. *Nehemiah Abbot* testified, that unusual and mischievous Accidents would befall his Cattle, when ever he had any Difference with this Prisoner. Once particularly she wish'd his Ox Choak'd; and within a little while, that Ox was Choak'd, with a Turnep in his Throat. At anoter time refusing to lend his Horse at the request of her Daughter, the Horse was in a preternatural manner abused. And several other odd things of that kind were Testified.

VII. There came in Testimony, that one Good-wife *Sherwin*, upon some Difference with *How*, was Bewitched; and that she Dyed, charging this *How* of having an hand in her Death. And that other People had their Barrels of Drink unaccountably mischiev'd, spoil'd and spilt, upon their displeasing of her.

The things in themselves were trivial, but there being such a course of them, it made them the more Considered. Among others, *Martha Wood* gave her Testimony, that a little after her Father had been employed in gathering an account of *How*'s Conversation, they once and again lost great quantities of Drink out of their Vessels,

sels, in such a manner, as they could ascribe to nothing but Witchcraft. As also, that *How* giving her some Apples, when she had eaten of them, she was taken with a very strange kind of Amaze, insomuch, that she knew not what she said or did.

VIII. There was likewise a cluster of Depositions, that one *Isaac Cummings* refusing to lend his Mare unto the Husband of this *How*, the Mare was within a day or two taken in a strange condition: The Beast seem'd much abused, being bruised as if she had been running over the Rocks, and marked where the Bridle went, as if burnt with a red hot Bridle. Moreover, one using a Pipe of Tobacco for the Cure of the Beast, a blue Flame issued out of her, took hold of her Hair, and not only spread and burnt on her, but it also flew upwards towards the Roof of the Barn, and had like to have set the Barn on Fire, and the Mare dyed very suddenly.

IX. *Timothy Pearley* and his Wife, testified not only unaccountable Mischiefs befel their Cattle, upon their having of Differences with this Prisoner: but also, that they had a Daughter destroyed by Witchcrafts; which Daughter still charged *How* as the cause of her Affliction. And it was noted, that she would be struck down whenever *How* were spoken of. She was often endeavoured to be thrown into the Fire, and into the Water in her strange Fits: Tho her Father had corrected her for charging *How* with Bewitching her; yet, (as was testified by others also) she said she was sure of it, and must dye standing to it. Accordingly she charged *How* to her very Death; and said, *Tho* How *could Afflict and Torment her Body, yet she could not hurt her Soul:* And, *That the truth of this matter would appear, when she should be dead and gone.*

X. *Francis Lane* testified, That being hired by the Husband of this *How* to get him a parcel of Posts and Rails, this *Lane* hired *John Pearly* to assist him. This Prisoner then told *Lane* that she believed the Posts and Rails would not do, because *John Pearly* helped him; but that if he had got them alone, without *John Pearly*'s help, they might have done well enough. When *James How* came to receive his Posts and Rails of *Lane*, *How* taking them up by the Ends, they, tho good and sound, yet unaccountably broke off, so that *Lane* was forced to get thirty or Forty more. And this Prisoner being informed of it, she said, she told him so before, because *Pearly* helped about them.

XI. Afterwards there came in the Confessions of several other (penitent) Witches, which affirmed this *How* to be one of those, who with them had been Baptized by the Devil in the River, at *Newbury*-

Falls

Falls: Before which he made them there kneel down before the Brink of the River and Worship him.

V. *The Tryal of* Martha Carrier, *at the Court of* Oyer *and* Terminer, *Held by Adjournment at* Salem, Auguſt 2. 1692.

I. *Martha Carrier* was Indicted for the Bewitching certain Perſons; according to the Form uſual in ſuch Caſes, pleading *Not Guilty* to her Indictment; there were firſt brought in a conſiderable number of the Bewitched Perſons, who not only made the Court ſenſible of an horrid Witchcraft committed upon them, but alſo Depoſed, That it was *Martha Carrier*, or her Shape, that grievouſly Tormented them, by Biting, Pricking, Pinching and Choaking of them. It was farther depoſed, that while this *Carrier* was on her Examination before the Magiſtrates, the poor People were ſo Tortured, that every one expected their Death upon the very ſpot; but that upon the binding of *Carrier* they were eaſed. Moreover, the Look of *Carrier* then laid the Afflicted people for Dead; and her Touch, if her Eye at the ſame time were off them, raiſed them again: Which things were alſo now ſeen upon her Tryal. And it was teſtified, that upon the mention of ſome having their Necks twiſted almoſt round by the Shape of this *Carrier*, ſhe replied, *It's no matter tho their Necks had been twiſted quite off.*

II. Before the Tryal of this Priſoner, ſeveral of her own Children had frankly and fully confeſſed, not only that they were Witches themſelves, but that this their Mother had made them ſo. This Confeſſion they made with great ſhews of Repentance, and with much demonſtration of truth. They related Place, Time, Occaſion; they gave an account of Journeys, Meetings and Miſchiefs by them performed, and were very Credible in what they ſaid. Nevertheleſs this Evidence was not produced againſt the Priſoner at the Bar, inaſmuch as there was other Evidence enough to proceed upon.

III. *Benjamin Abbot* gave his Teſtimony, That laſt *March* was a twelve Month, this *Carrier* was very angry with him, upon laying out ſome Land, near her Huſband's: Her Expreſſions in this Anger,

Anger, were, *That she would stick as close to* Abbot *as the Bark stuck to the Tree; and that he should repent of it afore seven Years came to an end, so as Dr.* Prescot *should never cure him.* These words were heard by others besides *Abbot* himself; who also heard her say, *She would hold his Nose as close to the Grinstone as ever it was held since his name was* Abbot. Presently after this, he was taken with a Swelling in his Foot, and then with a Pain in his Side, and exceedingly tormented. It bred unto a Sore, which was launced by Dr. *Prescot*, and several Gallons of Corruption run out of it. For six Weeks it continued very bad, and then another Sore bred in the Groin, which was also lanced by Dr. *Prescot*. Another Sore then bred in his Groin, which was likewise cut, and put him to very great Misery: He was brought unto Death's door, and so remained until *Carrier* was taken, and carried away by the Constable, from which every Day he began to mend, and so grew better every Day, and is well ever since.

Sarah Abbot also, his Wife, testified, That her Husband was not only all this while afflicted in his Body, but also that strange extraordinary and unaccountable Calamities befel his Cattel; their Death being such as they could guess at no natural Reason for.

IV. *Allin Toothaker* testified, that *Richard*, the Son of *Martha Carrier*, having some difference with him, pull'd him down by the Hair of the Head. When he rose again, he was going to strike at *Richard Carrier*; but fell down flat on his Back to the ground, and had not power to stir hand or foot, until he told *Carrier* he yielded; and then he saw the shape of *Martha Carrier*, go off his Breast.

This *Toothaker*, had received a Wound in the Wars; and he now testified, that *Martha Carrier* told him, *He should never be Cured.* Just afore the Apprehending of *Carrier*, he could thrust a Knitting-Needle into his Wound, four inches deep; but presently after her being seised, he was throughly healed.

He further testified, that when *Carrier* and he sometimes were at variance, she would clap her hands at him, and say, *He should get nothing by it*; whereupon he several times lost his Cattel, by strange Deaths, whereof no natural Causes could be given.

V. *John Rogger* also testified, That upon the threatning words of this malicious *Carrier*, his Cattle would be strangely bewitched; as was more particularly then described.

VI. *Samuel Preston* testified, that about two years ago, having some difference with *Martha Carrier*, he lost a *Cow* in a strange preternatural unusual manner; and about a Month after this, the said *Carrier*,

rier, having again some difference with him, she told him; *He had lately lost a Cow, and it should not be long before he lost another*; which accordingly came to pass; for he had a thriving and well-kept *Cow*, which without any known cause quickly fell down and died.

VII. *Phebe Chandler* testified, that about a Fortnight before the apprehension of *Martha Carrier*, on a Lords-day, while the Psalm was singing in the *Church*, this *Carrier* then took her by the Shoulder and shaking her, asked her, *where she lived*: she made her no Answer, altho as *Carrier*, who lived next door to her Father's House, could not in reason but know who she was. Quickly after this, as she was at several times crossing the Fields, she heard a Voice, that she took to be *Martha Carriers*, and it seemed as if it was over her head. The Voice told her, *she should within two or three days be poisoned.* Accordingly, within such a little time, one half of her right hand, became greatly swollen, and very painful; as also part of her Face; whereof she can give no account how it came. It continued very bad for some days; and several times since, she has had a great pain in her Breast; and been so seised on her Legs, that she has hardly been able to go. She added, that lately, going well to the House of God, *Richard*, the Son of *Martha Carrier*, look'd very earnestly upon her, and immediately her Hand, which had formerly been poisoned, as is aboveſaid, began to pain her greatly, and she had a strange burning at her Stomach; but was then struck Deaf, so that she could not hear any of the Prayer, or Singing, till the two or three last words of the Psalm.

VIII. One *Foster*, who confessed her own share in the Witchcraft for which the Prisoner stood indicted, affirm'd, that she had seen the Prisoner at some of their *Witch-meetings*, and that is was this *Carrier*, who perswaded her to be a Witch. She confessed, that the Devil carry'd them on a Pole, to a Witch-meeting; but the Pole broke, and she hanging about the *Carrier*'s Neck, they both fell down, and she then received an hurt by the Fall, whereof she was not at this very time recovered.

IX. One *Lacy*, who likewise confessed her share in this Witchcraft, now testified, and that she and the Prisoner were once bodily present at a *Witch-meeting* in *Salem Village*; and that she knew the Prisoner to be a Witch, and to have been at a Diabolical Sacrament, and that the Prisoner was the undoing of her, and her Children, by enticing them into the Snare of the Devil.

X. Another *Lacy*, who also confessed her share in this Witchcraft, now testified, that the Prisoner was at the *Witch meeting*, in *Salem Village*,

Village, where they had Bread and Wine administred unto them.

XI. In the time of this Prisoner's Trial, one *Susanna Sheldon*, in open Court had her Hands unaccountably ty'd together with a Wheel-band, so fast, that without cutting, it could not be loosed: It was done by a *Spectre*; and the Sufferer affirm'd, it was the Prisoners.

Memorandum. This Rampant Hag, *Martha Carrier*, was the Person, of whom the Confessions of the Witches, and of her own Children, among the rest, agreed, That the Devil promised her, she should be *Queen of Heb.*

HAving thus far done the Service imposed upon me; I will further pursue it, by relating a few of those matchless *Curiosities*, with which the *Witchcraft* now upon us, has entertained us. And I shall Report nothing but with good Authority, and what I would invite all my Readers to examine, while 'tis yet fresh and new, that if there be found any mistake, it may be as willingly *Retracted*, as it was unwillingly *committed*.

The first Curiosity.

I. 'Tis very Remarkable to see what impious and impudent *Imitation* of Divine Things, is apishly affected by the Devil, in several of those Matters, whereof the Confessions of our *Witches*, and the Afflictions of our *Sufferers* have informed us.

That Reverend and Excellent Person, Mr. *John Higginson*, in my Conversation with him, once invited me to this Reflection; that the *Indians* which come from far to settle about *Mexico*, were in their Progress to that Settlement, under a Conduct of the *Devil*, were strangely Emulating what the Blessed God gave to *Israel* in the Wilderness.

Acosta, is our Author for it, that the Devil in their Idol *Vitzlipultzli*, governed that mighty Nation. *He commaded them to leave their Country, promising to make them* Lords *over all the Provinces possessed by* Six *other Nations of* Indians, *and give them a Land abounding with all precious things. They went forth, carrying their Idol with them, in a Coffer of* Reeds, *supported by four of their Principal Priests, with whom he still discourst in secret, revealing to them the Successes, and Accidents of their way. He advised them when to* March, *and where to* Stay, *and without his Commandment they moved not. The first thing they did, whereever they came, was to erect a* Tabernacle, *for their false God;*

which they ſet always in the midſt of their Camp, and they placed the Ark *upon an* Altar. *When they, tired with Pains, talked of proceeding no further in their Journey, than a certain pleaſant Stage, whereto they were arrived, this Devil in one Night, horribly kill'd them that had ſtarted this Talk, by pulling out their Hearts. And ſo they paſſed on till they came to* Mexico.

The Devil which *then* thus imitated what was in the Church of the *Old Teſtament*, now among *us* would imitate the Affairs of the Church in the *New*. The *Witches* do ſay, that they form themſelves much after the manner of *Congregational Churches*; and that they have a *Baptiſm* and a *Supper*, and *Officers* among them, abominably Reſembling thoſe of our Lord.

But there are many more of theſe Bloody *Imitations*, if the Confeſſions of the *Witches* are to be received; which I confeſs, ought to be but with very much Caution.

What is their ſtriking down with a fierce *Look*? What is their making of the Afflicted *Riſe*, with a touch of their *Hand*? What is their Tranſportation through the *Air*? What is their Travelling in *Spirit*, while their Body is caſt into a Trance? What is their cauſing of *Cattel* to run mad and periſh? What is their Entring their Names in a *Book*? What is their coming together from all parts, at the Sound of a *Trumpet*? What is their appearing ſometimes clothed with *Light* or *Fire* upon them? What is their covering of themſelves and their Inſtruments with *Inviſibility*? But a blaſphemous Imitation of certain things recorded about our Saviour or his Prophets, or the Saints in the Kingdom of God.

A Second Curioſity.

II. In all the *Witchcraft* which now grievouſly Vexes us, I know not whether any thing be more unaccountable, than the Trick which the Witches have to render themſelves, and their Tools *Inviſible*. *Witchcraft* ſeems to be the Skill of applying the *Plaſtic Spirit* of the World, unto ſome unlawful purpoſes, by means of a Confederacy with *Evil Spirits*. Yet one would wonder how the *Evil Spirits* themſelves can do ſome things; eſpecially at *Inviſibilizing* of the groſſeſt Bodies. I can tell the Name of an ancient Author, who pretends to ſhew the way, how a Man may come to walk about *Inviſible*, and I can tell the Name of another ancient Author, who pretends to Explode that way. But I will not ſpeak too plainly, leſt I ſhould unawares Poiſon ſome of my *Readers*, as the Pious

Hemingius

Hemingius did one of his *Pupils*, when he only by way Diversion recited a *Spell*, which, they had said, would cure *Agues*. Thus much I will say; The notion of procuring *Invisibility*, by any *Natural Expedient*, yet known, is, I believe, a meer PLINYISM; How far it may be obtained by a *Magical Sacrament*, is best known to the dangerous Knaves that have try'd it. But our *Witches* do seem to have got the knack; and this is one of the Things, that make me think, *Witchcraft* will not be fully understood, until the day when there shall not be one Witch in the World.

There are certain People very *Dogmatical* about these Matters; but I'll give them only these three Bones to pick.

First, One of our bewitch'd People, was cruelly assaulted by a *Spectre*, that, she said, run at her with a *Spindle*; tho no body else in the Room, could see either the *Spectre* or the *Spindle*. At last, in her Miseries, giving a snatch at the *Spectre*, she pull'd the *Spindle* away, and it was no sooner got into her Hand, but the other People then present, beheld, that it was indeed a real, proper, Iron *Spindle*, belonging they knew to whom; which when they lock'd up very safe, it was nevertheless by *Dæmons* unaccountably stole away, to do further mischief.

Secondly, Another of our bewitch'd People, was haunted with a most abusive *Spectre*, which came to her, she said, with a *Sheet* about her. After she had undergone a deal of Teaze, from the Annoyance of the *Spectre*, she gave a violent snatch at the Sheet, that was upon it; where from she tore a Corner, which in her hand immediately became *Visible* to a Room full of Spectators; a palpable Corner of a Sheet. Her Father, who was now holding her, catch'd that he might keep what his Daughter had so strangely seised, but the unseen *Spectre* had like to have pull'd his hand off, by endeavouring to wrest it from him; however he still held it, and I suppose has it still to shew; it being but a few hours ago, namely about the beginning of this *October*, that this Accident happened in the Family of one *Pitman*, at *Manchester*.

Thirdly, A young Man, delaying to procure Testimonials for his Parents, who being under confinement on suspicion of *Witchcraft*, required him to do that service for them, was quickly pursued with odd Inconveniences. But once above the rest, an Officer going to put his *Brand* on the Horns of some *Cows*, belonging to these People, which tho he had seised for some of their Debts, yet he was willing to leave in their Possession, for the Subsistence of the poor Family: this young Man help'd in holding the Cows to be

thus branded. The three first *Cows* he held well enough ; but when the hot *Brand* was clap'd upon the Fourth, he *winc'd* and *shrunk* at such a Rate, as that he could hold the Cow no longer. Being afterwards Examined about it, he confessed, that at that very instant when the *Brand* entred the *Cows Horn*, exactly the like burning *Brand* was clap'd upon his own Thigh; where he has exposed the lasting Marks of it, unto such as asked to see them.

Unriddle these Things.——*Et Eris mihi magnus Apollo.*

A Third Curiosity.

III. If a drop of *Innocent Blood* should be shed, in the Prosecution of the *Witchcrafts* among us, how unhappy are we! For which cause, I cannot express my self in better terms, than those of a most Worthy Person, who lives near the present Center of these things. *The Mind of* God *in these Matters, is to be carefully lookt into, with due Circumspection, that Satan deceive us not with his Devices, who transforms himself into an Angel of Light, and may pretend Justice and yet intend Mischief.* But on the other side, if the storm of Justice do now fall only on the Heads of those guilty *Witches* and *Wretches* which have defiled our Land, *How Happy!*

The Execution of some that have lately dyed, has been immediately attended, with a strange Deliverance of some, that had lain for many years, in a most sad Condition, under, they knew not whose *evil hands*. As I am abundantly satisfied, That many of the Self-Murders committed here, have been the effects of a cruel and bloody *Witchcraft*, letting fly *Dæmons* upon the miserable *Seneca's*; thus, it has been admirable unto me to see, how a deviliſh *Witchcraft*, sending Devils upon them, has driven many poor People to *Despair*, and persecuted their Minds, with such buzzes of *Atheism* and *Blasphemy*, as has made them even run *distracted with Terrors*: And some long *bow'd down* under such a *Spirit of Infirmity*, have been marvellously recovered upon the death of the Witches.

One *Whetford* particularly ten years ago, challenging of *Bridget Bishop* (whose Trial you have had) with stealing of a Spoon, *Bishop* threatned her very direfully: presently after this, was *Whetford* in the Night, and in her Bed, visited by *Bishop*, with one *Parker*, who making the Room light at their coming in, there discoursed of several Mischiefs they would inflict upon her. At last they pull'd her out, and carried her unto the Sea-side, there to *drown* her; but she calling upon God, they left her tho not without Expressions of their Fury.

Fury. From that very time, this poor *Whetford* was utterly spoilt, and grew a tempted, froward, crazed sort of a Woman; a Vexation to her self, and all about her; and many ways unreasonable. In this Distraction she lay, till those Women were Apprehended, by the Authority; *then* she began to mend; and upon their Execution, was presently and perfectly recovered, from the ten years Madness that had been upon her.

A Fourth Curiosity.

IV. 'Tis a thousand pities, that we should permit our Eyes to be so *Blood shot* with Passions, as to lose the sight of many wonderful things, wherein the Wisdom and Justice of God, would be glorified. Some of those things, are the frequent **Apparitions** of Ghosts, whereby many old **Murders** among us, come to be considered. And, among many Instances of this kind, I will single out one, which concerned a poor Man, lately *Prest* unto Death, because of his refusing to *Plead* for his Life. I shall make an Extract of a Letter, which was written to my Honourable Friend, *Samuel Sewal*, Esq; by Mr. *Putman*. to this purpose;

'The last Night my Daughter *Ann* was grievously tormented 'by Witches, threatning that we should be *Pressed* to Death, before '*Giles Cory*. But through the Goodness of a Gracious God, she had 'at last a little Respite: Whereupon there appeared unto her (she 'said) a Man in a Winding-sheet, who told her, that *Giles Cory* 'had Murderrd him by *Pressing* him to Death with his Feet; but 'that the Devil there appeared unto him, and Covenanted with 'him, and promis'd him, *He should not be Hanged*. The Apparition said, God hardned his Heart, that he should not hearken to 'to the advice of the Court, and so die an easie Death; because as 'it said, *It must be done to him as he has done to me*. The Apparition also said, that *Giles Cory* was carried to the Court for this, 'and that the Jury had found the Murther, and that her Father 'knew the Man, and the thing was done before she was Born. 'Now Sir, this is not a little strange to us, that no body should re'member these things all the while that *Giles Cory* was in Prison, 'and so often before the Court. For all People now remember 'very well, (and the Records of the Court also mention it) That 'about Seventeen Years ago, *Giles Cory* kept a Man in his House, 'that was almost a Natural Fool; which Man died Suddenly: A 'Jury was Impannel'd upon him, among whom was Dr. *Zerobba*'*bel Endicot*; who found the Man bruiz'd to Death, and having 'clodders of Blood about his Heart. The Jury, whereof several are 'yet alive, brought in the Man Murdered; but as if some Enchant-

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'ment had hindred the Prosecution of the Matter, the Court pro-'ceeded not against *Giles Cory*, tho it cost him a great deal of Mony 'to get off. Thus the Story.

THE *Reverend and Worthy Author, having at the direction of his Excellency the Governor, so far obliged the Publick, as to give some Account of the Sufferings brought upon the Country by* Witchcraft; *and of the Tryals which have passed upon several Executed for the same.*

Upon perusal whereof, we find the Matters of Fact and Evidence truly reported; and a Prospect given of the Methods of Conviction, used in the Proceedings of the Court at Salem.

Boston Octob. 11. 1692. William Stoughton, Samuel Sewall.

BUT is *New-England* the only Christian Country, that hath undergone such Diabolical Molestations? No, there are other good People, that have in this way been harrassed; but none in Circumstances more like to *Ours*, than the People of God in *Sweedland*. The story is a very famous one, and it comes to speak *English* by the accute Pen of the Excellent and Renowned Dr. *Horneck*. I shall only single out a few of the more *Me*morable Passages therein Occurring; and where it agrees with what happened among our selves, my Reader shall understand, by my inserting a word of every such thing in **Black Letter.**

I. It was in the Year 1669, and 1670. That at *Mohra* in *Sweedland*, the **Devils** by the help of **Witches**, committed a most horrible Outrage. Among other Instances of hellish Tyranny there exercised, One was, that hundreds of their Children were usually in the Night fetch'd from their Lodgings, to a Diabolical Rendezvouz, at a place they call'd *Blockula*, where the Monsters that so Spirited them, Tempted them all manner of ways to **Associate** with them. Yea, such were the perilous growth of this *Witchcraft*, that Persons of Quality began to send their Children into other Countries to avoid it.

II. The Inhabitants had earnestly sought God by **Prayer**, and **yet** their Affliction continued. Whereupon **Judges** had a special **Commission** to find and root out the Hellish Crew; and the rather, because another County in the Kingdom, which had been so molested, was deliver'd upon the Execution of the *Witches*.

III. The **Examination** was begun with a day of **Humiliation** appointed by Authority. Whereupon the Commissioners **Consulting** how they might resist such a dangerous Flood; the **Suffer-**

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ing Children were first Examined; and tho they were Questioned One by One a part, yet their Declarations all agreed. The Witches Accus'd in these Declarations, were then Examined; and tho at first they obstinately denied, yet at length many of them ingenuously Confessed the Truth of what the Children said; owning with Tears, that the Devil whom they called *Locyta*, had Stopt their Mouths; but he being now gone from them, they could No longer Conceal the Business. The things by them acknowledged, most wonderfully agreed with what other Witches in other places had confessed.

IV. They confessed, that they did use to Call upon the Devil, who thereupon would carry them away over the tops of Houses, to a Green Meddow, where they gave themselves unto him. Only one of them said, that sometimes the Devil only took away her Strength, leaving her Body on the Ground; but she went at other times in Body too.

V. Their manner was to come into the Chambers of People, and fetch away their Children upon *Beasts* of the Devil's providing; promising Fine Cloaths and other fine Things unto them, to inveagle them. They said, they never had power to do thus, till of late; but now the Devil did Plague and Beat them, if they did not gratifie him in this piece of Mischief. They said, they made use of all sorts of Instruments in their Journeys! Of Men, of Beasts, of Posts; the Men they commonly laid Asleep at the Place whereto they Rode them, and if the Children mentioned the Names of them that stole them away, they were miserably Scurged for it, until some of them were Killed. The Judges found the marks of the Lashes on some of them; but the Witches said, They would quickly vanish. Moreover, the Children would be in strange Fits, after they were brought home from these Transportations.

VI. The first thing they said they were to do at *Blockula*, was to give themselves unto the Devil, and Vow that they would serve him. Hereupon they cut their fingers and with Blood writ their Names in his Book. And he also caused them to be Baptised by such Priests as he had in this Horrid Company. In some of them the *Mark* of the cut finger was to be found; they said that the Devil gave *Meat* and *Drink*, as to *Them*, so to the Children they brought with them; that afterwards their Custom was to *Dance* before him, and *Swear* and *Curse* most horribly. They said, that the Devil shewed them a great Frightful cruel *Dragon*, telling them, *If they confessed any thing*, he would let loose that great Devil upon them: They added, that the Devil had a great *Church*, and that when the

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Judges were coming, he told them, *He would kill them all*; and that some of them had *attempted to Murder the Judges, but could not.*

VII. Some of the Children talked much of a *White Angel*, which did use to *Forbid* them what the Devil bid them to do, and assure them, that these doings would *not last long*; but that what had been done, was permitted for the Wickedness of the People. This *White Angel* would sometimes Rescue the Children from *Going* in with the Witches.

VIII. The Witches confest many Mischiefs done by them, declaring with what kind of **Enchanted Tools** they did their Mischiefs: They thought especially to *Kill the Minister* of *Elfdala*, but could not. But some of them said, that such as they Wounded, would *be Recovered*, upon or before their Execution.

IX. The **Judges** would fain have had them show'd some of their *Tricks*; but they Unanimously declared, *That since they had Confessed all, they found all their* Witchcraft *gone*; and the Devil then *Appeared very Terrible unto them, threatning with an Iron Fork to thrust them into a burning Pit, if they persisted in their Confession.*

X. There were discovered no less than *threscore and ten* Witches in one Village; three and twenty of which *freely confessing their Crimes*, were Conhemned to Die. The rest, (One pretending she was with Child) were sent to *Fahluna*, where most of them were afterwards Executed. Fifteen Children which confessed themselves engaged in this Witchery died as the rest, Six and thirty of them between *Nine* and *Sixteen* Years of Age, who had been less Guilty, were forced to run the Gantlet and be Lashed on their Hands once a Week, for a Year together. Twenty more who had less Inclination to these Infernal Enterprizes, were lashed with Rods upon their Hands for three *Sundays* together, at the Church Door. The number of the Seduced Children, was about three Hundred. This Course, together with Weekly Prayers in all the Churches through the Kingdom, issued in the deliverance of the Country.

XI. The most Accomplish'd *Dr. Horneck* inserts a most wise Caution in his Preface to this Narrative, says he, *There is no Publick Calamity, but some ill People will serve themselves of the sad Providence, and make use of it for their own ends; as Thieves when an House or Town is on Fire, will Steal what they can.* And he mentions a remarkable Story of a young Woman at *Stockholm*, in the Year, 1676, who Accused her own Mother of being a Witch; and Swore positively, that she had carried her away in the Night; the poor Woman was Burnt upon it, professing her Innocency to the last. But tho she had been an ill Woman, yet it afterwards prov'd that she was not such an one; for her Daughter came to the Judges, with hideous Lamentations, confessing that she had wronged her Mother, out of a wicked spight against her; whereupon the Judges gave order for her Execution too.

But, so much of these things. *And now Lord, make these Labours of thy Servant Profitable to thy People.*

FINIS.

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